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THE

LAST DAYS

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

LONDON:
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THE

LAST DAYS

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

BY

DOCTOR F. ANTOMMARCHI,

HIS PHYSICIAN.

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ac

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

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THE

LAST MOMENTS OF NAPOLEON.

21st FEBRUARY.

THE Emperor's health in the same state as yesterday. He wished to eat turtle cooked after the English fashion, and refused his pills. I insisted upon his taking them; he grew impatient and bade me retire. "I cannot, Sire; I act by order."—"By order?"—"Yes, Sire."—"Of whom? who has had the insolence?"—"The General-in-chief; his instructions have just reached me." I held in my hand his own general order, dated Milan, the 22d Thermidor, Vth year of the Republic, (9th August

1797,) appointing three inspectors of hospitals, and hastened to read it to him; particularly directing his attention to the clause at the end of that document, which orders "*that it be ascertained whether the physician takes care to see his prescriptions attended to.*"

"This is one of your tricks, Doctor; but no "matter: you would probably also quote the "letter that Bertholet wrote to the Directory "respecting the excellent condition of our hos- "pitals, and the care I took of the wounded. "I would rather take the pills: give them to "me!"

26th.

The Emperor, who had been tolerably well since the 21st, had a sudden relapse. — Dry cough—vomiting—heat in the bowels—general agitation—anxiety—an almost intolerable sensation of burning heat, accompanied by parching thirst.

27th.

The Emperor still more unwell than yesterday. The cough was more violent, and he had experienced a painful nausea until seven o'clock in the morning.—Prescribed refrigerant

and paregoric beverages, calming and anodyne enemas, and a foot-bath, which produced a favourable effect. It was now one o'clock A. M. and Napoleon had only taken, during the whole day, three small quantities of broth, two eggs, a little cream, and a glass of claret diluted with a great deal of water. He slept four successive hours, and remained in his apartment, the windows of which were hermetically closed: towards evening, however, he changed both his room and his bed. At three, P. M. I administered two spoonfuls of anodyne emulsion, which calmed the cough a little, and a tonic pill.

The Emperor felt better; and old recollections recurring to his mind, he spoke in terms of praise and kindness of the brave men who followed his fortune and contributed to his success at the outset of his career. "Steingel was impetuous and indefatigable, and sought for the "Austrians and for medals with equal ardour; "he did not leave a bush or a ruin unsearched "or unvisited. Mireur was the man of dangers and outposts; he could only sleep quietly "when in presence of the enemy. Caffarelli, "equally brave, only fought from necessity; he

" was fond of glory, but fonder still of man-
" kind, and considered war but as a means of
" obtaining peace." Passing from these to officers of an inferior rank, Napoleon praised the courage of one, the skill of another; and dwelt considerably upon the merit of two brave men whose loss he deeply regretted. These were Sulkowsky and Guibert. The first was a Pole, full of intrepidity, knowledge and intelligence. He had gone to wake Kosciusko, and to deliver him the instructions of the *Comité du Salut Public.* He was an able engineer, spoke every language of Europe, and no obstacle could deter him from his purpose. The second, possessing a greater degree of shrewdness, pliability of temper, and circumspection, conducted a negotiation with all the art of a diplomatist; as will be seen by the following report:—

" Cairo, November 17, 1798.

" At daybreak on the 2d I left Aboukir to proceed on board the English fleet. There was only one ship at anchor off the point; it was the *Swiftsure,* commanded by Mr. Hallowell. A boat came to meet me, and I asked the men

in it whether the ship commanded by Commodore Hood was in the offing. I was told that it was not; that Commodore Hood was cruising before Alexandria, but that Mr. Hallowell requested me nevertheless to come on board the *Swiftsure.*

" Mr. Hallowell received me coldly; particularly when he saw that I was accompanied by a Turk. I stated to him plainly the object of my mission to Mr. Hood. He replied, that Hassan Bey would not receive the Turk, and that the step I was taking was therefore useless.—'You will, however, permit me, Sir, to go on board Mr. Hood's ship.' He answered, that he had himself some very interesting information to communicate to Mr. Hood: that the *Zealous* was almost out of sight, but that the signal to approach had been made; and he proposed to me to wait on board the *Swiftsure.* 'We will proceed together,' added he, 'to see the admiral.'—He ordered breakfast; we sat down to table, and by degrees he became more friendly. Chance brought to his recollection some former connexion that had existed between him and my family, and a conversation ensued, which

was on my part frequently interrupted by sallies uttered with simplicity and without affectation. We conversed on the political situation of Europe; and he told me, with an expression of truth, that more than seven weeks had now elapsed since they had received any news, and that they expected some every day. He spoke confidently respecting the hostile dispositions of Turkey.—'The news,' answered I, 'which the General frequently receives from Constantinople by land, does not agree with your statement.'—'Does the General receive frequent news from Constantinople?'—'Yes.' He smiled, but appeared surprised. 'Yet you cannot doubt that the Pacha of Rhodes is before Alexandria by order of his government?' I was going to reply, but he continued: 'We were at Rhodes when he was forced to come.'—'Forced?' I smiled in my turn. 'Yes, by order of the Sublime Porte.' I did not insist. He then shewed me your letter to the citizen Talleyrand, whom you have ordered to give to the Grand Signior an account of the events of Egypt, the details of the battle of Aboukir, and to tell him that we have still twenty-two ships in the Mediterranean. He ironically scruti-

nized the number of those which we have still left in that sea; and added, 'M. de Talleyrand is not arrived at Constantinople; and besides, he would no longer have found there your good friends the Grand-Vizir and the Reis-Effendi; they have both been dismissed, and sent away from the capital.' He stopped; I feigned not having paid attention to what he had said. He then spoke to me about the Russian squadron commanded by Admiral Okzkoff. 'Where is it?' asked I.—'At the entrance of the Gulf of Venice; it will soon attack your islands.'—'We cannot believe in the existence of the Russian squadron in the Mediterranean: you ought, for the interest of the Coalition, to advise it to appear and show itself.'—'But,' answered Mr. Hallowell, almost nettled, 'you have already seen two of its frigates; and if it does not keep a more considerable force in those seas, it is because it forms no part of its system of operations to do so.' The conversation fell upon some of our naval officers; and amongst others, upon Rear-Admiral Villeneuve. 'Have you not taken any of the four ships that accompanied him?'—'No: *L'Heureux*, which had been separated in a gale, has been fortunate

enough to escape our pursuit, and to enter Corfu: the remainder are at Malta.'—'And *La Justice?*'—'Also, most probably.'—'I have a cousin on board the last-mentioned vessel; if he had been your prisoner, I should have asked your permission to send him some money; he belongs to a rich family.' 'But, stop,' said he clumsily, 'I now recollect that *La Justice* has sunk. Tell me the name of your relation.' I gave, without hesitation, the first name that occurred to me. Mr. Hallowell also spoke to me of a letter that had been intercepted coming from Toulon, and addressed to you. It announced the departure of a convoy, which is to sail as soon as the English shall no longer cruise before the port: but Nelson is there. He assured me that some of your despatches had been intercepted by the Turks; and pretended that Ibrahim Aga was nothing more than a servant disguised, and that Hassan Bey had said so.—'General Bonaparte,' answered I, 'only sends, as flag of truce, persons bearing a public character; Ibrahim Aga is known, and formed part of the Pacha's suite at Constantinople.'

"I spoke to him of their connexion with the Arabs, and informed him that the chiefs of Edkou and Elfini had been shot. I added, that you were perfectly aware that the Intendant of Ibrahim had gone from their fleet to Syria. He maintained, with the utmost affectation, that this information was false, and that the fleet had no connexion whatever with the Arabs. I almost immediately quoted proofs of the contrary.

"He then spoke of the junction of fifty thousand Greeks, and I took care not to undeceive him. I told him that they had actually joined us, and were organizing.

"At this moment Hassan Bey arrived. He was followed by a Turk who is devoted to the English, and who, in addition to being a mortal enemy of the French, appears to be of a most ferocious disposition. Mr. Hallowell seemed surprised at seeing the Bey, but we continued to walk about conversing together. Mahomed approached Hassan, waited a few minutes, and suddenly interrupting our conversation, took his letter out of his pocket, and asked

me whether he was to deliver it. Mr. Hallowell, surprised, stopped and looked at the Bey. 'No,' answered I to Mahomed, 'you will only deliver it in presence of Mr. Hood.'—'You see, Sir,' said I to Mr. Hallowell, 'that it entirely depends upon Mr. Hood's will, whether Hassan shall receive the letter or not.' He begged me to allow him to withdraw, and called the Bey. I feigned not to observe what was going forward.

"Hassan Bey returned in a short time, and spoke to me about the war which the Sublime Porte has declared against us; and told me that England and Russia were going to attack us jointly. 'Do you think,' said I to him in Italian, 'that the Porte will ever unite with Russia —her natural enemy, and who only seeks aggrandizement at her expense?' I repeated to him that you had frequent correspondence with Constantinople, through Syria, and that the Grand Signior was perfectly aware of it.

"The Turk who accompanied him told me with a ferocious expression, that at Rhodes one hundred and forty-six Frenchmen had been

loaded with irons, and that this measure had also been resorted to by all the Pachas in the provinces under their superintendence. 'That measure will be one day disowned by the Grand Signior: in the mean time let Hassan Bey be informed,' added I, 'that in Egypt religion is respected, the mosques consecrated, the Arabs repulsed. Let him read the proclamation of the Divan, and he will recognize in the French the allies of the Sublime Porte.' I then delivered to him a proclamation; but he took it without reading it.

"Mr. Hallowell proposed to me to go over his ship, and I accepted. A French emigrant, employed as a pilot, came up to me on the upper deck; he appeared sincerely to regret his country, and asked me whether it was true that fifty thousand Greeks had joined us. He added, but in a lower tone of voice, that the Arabs who came on board every day related a hundred absurd stories; that they began to be no longer believed, and to cease to give satisfaction. He told me there were eleven French prisoners on board, and I expressed a wish to see them. They are soldiers of the 4th light infantry. I asked them

whether they were well treated. 'We have only half rations,' answered they. An officer then hastily stepped forward, and said to me, 'The crew itself has only half rations, I assure you.'—'I believe it, Sir,' said I; 'for we and our prisoners always share alike.'

"The ship commanded by Commodore Hood was still at a great distance, and Mr. Hallowell ordered dinner to be served. The formality of his manner seemed now considerably relaxed; he spoke to me of peace, of the ambition of our Government, and concluded by these words:—'It is you that do not wish for peace!' I recalled to his mind, but without insisting upon it, that, although conquerors of the Continental powers, we had, however, always been the first to offer peace; that recently again, when master of Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia, you had acted towards Prince Charles in the most candid and noble manner, in writing to him the following letter, which I quoted from one end to the other:—

"'General-in-Chief! Brave soldiers make war, and desire peace. Has not this war already

lasted six years? Have we not killed men enough, and done harm enough to suffering humanity? She appeals in all directions. Europe had taken up arms against the French Republic, but she has laid them down again; your nation stands alone, and blood is about to flow more than ever. This sixth campaign opens under sinister auspices: whatever be its issue we shall kill some thousand men on both sides, and shall at last be obliged to come to an understanding together; since there is a limit to every thing in this world, even to the duration of hateful passions.

"'The Executive Directory of the French Republic had expressed to His Majesty the Emperor a wish to put an end to the war which afflicts the two nations, but the intervention of the Court of London has prevented the accomplishment of this end. Is there no hope of accommodation? and must we, to serve the interests and passions of a nation who does not feel the evils of this war, continue to destroy each other? You, General, whose birth places you so near the throne, and who must be above all the petty passions which often blind ministers'

and governments, are you determined to deserve the title of a benefactor to humanity, and of the true saviour of Germany? Do not think that I intend to insinuate that it is impossible that Germany can be saved by your arms; but, supposing the chances of war to turn in your favour, that country will be equally ravaged. For my part, General, if the proposal I have the honour to make to you can save the life of a single human being, I shall pride myself more upon the civic crown I shall have thus earned, than upon the melancholy glory that may result from military success.'

"'Well,' said Mr. Hallowell, on whom this letter had evidently produced an effect: '*To the conclusion of a peace honourable for both nations!*'

"At five o'clock Mr. Hallowell, Hassan Bey, and myself, embarked to go on board Mr. Hood's ship, where we arrived at eight in the evening. Mr. Hood's reception was still colder than Mr. Hallowell's had been at first: he made me walk in, went out of the room; and spoke for a length of time to Mr. Hallowell

and Hassan Bey. When he came back, I said to him, 'You know, Sir, the subject of my mission to you.'—'Yes: but Hassan Bey will not receive Mr. Bonaparte's letter.'—'He would, however, have received it this morning, if you had allowed him.' (I dwelt with particular emphasis upon the two last words.)—'Well! let the Turk present the letter; Hassan will receive it or not, just as he thinks proper; he is perfectly at liberty to do as he pleases.' Mahomed presented the letter, which Hassan received and opened. The English interpreter approached, and they read it together, smiling ironically several times as they proceeded. Mr. Hood also affected to laugh. 'I have been very much surprised,' said he to me, 'that the General should have sent me a Turk, as a flag of truce, under the colours of Turkey. You doubt, then, the fact of the declaration of war by the Sublime Porte against you? I give you my word of honour that it is true. What is Mr. Bonaparte doing?'—'He has set off for Suez, after having received a courier from that place. He has concluded a treaty of alliance with the Arabs of Mount Sinai and the Princes of Mount Lebanon.' I had already slightly

spoken to some of the officers of the arrival at Suez of ships and transports.

" I afterwards asked Mr. Hood whether it was a long time since he had received news from Europe. 'More than seven weeks; I expect some every day, and shall hasten to transmit the newspapers to Mr. Bonaparte. General Manscourt has sent me a very amiable flag of truce,' added he, laughing, 'to ask for his letters. I give you my word that I will transmit those that treat upon indifferent subjects; and I will even forward a few lines to France or Italy.'—'You are very kind,' said I hastily, 'but it will be useless to give yourself that trouble: since the beginning of September a vessel sails every five or six days for France. Several officers and aides-de-camp of the General-in-chief have already been sent home in that way.'—'Indeed!'—'Assuredly; you must have taken several of them. Have you taken General Bonaparte's brother?'—'How! do you mean the brother of Mr. Bonaparte?'—'Yes. He left Alexandria about twenty-five or thirty days ago.' He appeared not to believe this intelligence, but I affirmed

the truth of it. 'However, he will not escape our superior cruisers.' He then asked if I came from Aboukir, and whether I knew of the letter addressed to him by Adjutant-general Descalles, which he shewed me, and which might have been better written.

"'My intention,' continued Mr. Hood, 'is to behave towards you as your nation will behave towards us. You see that I might have refused to see you; and I am even surprised that Mr. Hallowell received you on board his ship, coming as you did from Aboukir.' I replied, that 'I had started from Rosetta, but that the passage over the bar of the Nile being too perilous, I had been obliged to come by way of Aboukir: that it might, besides, be dangerous for us that flags of truce should penetrate into a fortress or a post, the position of which they might thus reconnoitre; whilst it was of no consequence whatever for them whether a flag of truce came from such or such a place, and went on board such or such a ship.'—'In sending you your letters,' resumed Mr. Hood, 'I shall not follow the example of your Government, which has just ordered that all letters addressed

to Englishmen, in whatever vessel they may be taken, shall be carried to France. Your mode of carrying on the war is totally unprecedented: we shall in future act as you do, and imitate your proceedings on every occasion.'—'I believe, Commodore,' answered I, 'that our two Governments are quite on a par in that respect. As for General Bonaparte, he has always conducted war upon open and generous principles, and consistently with the dictates of humanity.' I then related to him the marks of attention you had shown Marshal Wurmser at the siege of Mantua; and that you had sent him refreshments of every description for his sick,—an act of generosity at which the old Marshal had been much surprised. I told him the humane manner in which the two belligerent nations had treated their prisoners, adding, that I knew your intention was to supply the English with whatever they might want or wish for. Mr. Hood appeared surprised at this politeness, thanked me, and said that they were not in want of any thing.

"I now mentioned to him that you wished the first flag of truce he sent might be addressed to

Rosetta.—'But,' said he, interrupting me, 'it seems to me more simple to send to Alexandria.' 'The General requests you will have the kindness to despatch flags of truce to Rosetta, from whence orders are given to conduct them to Cairo; and in case of your doing so, the General begs you to select some intelligent person possessing your confidence.'—'Very well; I will follow that plan.'

"I seized this opportunity of proposing to a Protestant clergyman, who had just manifested a great wish to see the Pyramids, to accompany me, promising that I would bring him back.

"The English interpreter now approached Mr. Hood and translated to him your letter to Hassan Bey. The Commodore pretended to laugh immoderately. The interpreter came up to me and said, 'Hassan Bey has taken a French brig, and has put the crew in irons. He will not return it, and will act in the same manner with every thing belonging to the French nation.'—'Mahomed having been the bearer of the letter,' answered I, 'this reply must be addressed to him:—Hassan Bey does not intend

to make any reply whatever, either verbally or in writing.' Mr. Hallowell now announced to me that the boat was ready: I took leave of Mr. Hood, who begged me to give his compliments to you. On our way back Mr. Hallowell said to me; 'You must have had an engagement three days ago near Cairo.'—'With whom?' asked I; 'Mourad has just been defeated by General Dessaix.'—'I know it; but you will see.' He added, that a Turk I had seen on board Mr. Hood's ship had been sent by the Grand Signior to distribute presents and concert with the Admiral measures of importance." Mr. Hood did not say a word of this to me, and the intelligence has not the slightest appearance of truth.

"Generally speaking, notwithstanding the outward and affected demonstrations of friendship made to the old Pacha of Rhodes and his suite, by the English, there does not appear to exist any cordiality between them; and I believe the English to be particularly dissatisfied with the Arabs. Mr. Hallowell told me, that one day Hassan Bey had expressed to him his surprise

at seeing the friendly communications between the French and English flags of truce, telling him that, with them, persons sent on such an errand would run the risk of losing their lives. Mr. Hallowell could not refrain from replying to him, 'We are not barbarians!'

"We arrived on board the *Swiftsure* at midnight. It was dangerous to depart at that hour, on account of the guard-boats that were going their rounds, and I therefore accepted a bed which Mr. Hallowell had slung for me in his own cabin, and left him the next morning.

"An officer told me that Admiral Nelson was expected; and I asked Mr. Hallowell whether such was the case, but he assured me it was not. The officer's communication looked like an act of indiscretion.

"You have judged, General, of the effect produced by the last flag of truce sent by General Manscourt, and you know that he proposed sending another. The last, it appears,

lost his temper in speaking to Mr. Hood. It is from such men as these that a judgment is formed of the nation, and of the spirit of the army.

"I also cannot conceal from you that the naval officer who accompanied me has made me blush for him twenty times over, and that he has often placed me in the embarrassing situation of being obliged to repair his indiscretions.

"I must moreover inform you, General, that the arming of the division, which is carried on with activity, is no longer a secret: Alexandria must now become the object of your serious attention; the English seem too well informed of what is going on in that place.

"Respectfully yours,

"GUIBERT."

28th.

The Emperor had passed a tolerably good night, and was better than yesterday. He rose at daybreak, and, though extremely weak, took a ride in the calash.

1st March.

Napoleon had passed a quiet night, but the prostration of strength still continued, and the digestion was extremely laborious. He went out in the calash; but nothing could dispel the deep melancholy in which he was plunged. At nine P. M. he was seized with a dry and painful cough, and nausea, followed by vomiting.

2nd.

The Emperor had had a good night. He went out twice in the calash, and found himself tolerably well. He took pleasure in retracing numberless details and circumstances which proved the tender affection he felt for Maria Louisa.—"Her *accouchement* was extremely "painful, and I may say that it is in a great mea- "sure to my care that she owes her existence. I "was reposing in an adjoining closet, when Du- "bois ran to inform me of her danger. He was "alarmed: the child presented itself in a wrong "position; he knew not what to do. I endea- "voured to quiet him, and asked him if he had "never met with similar cases in the course of "his practice.—'Yes, certainly,' replied he:

" 'but they occur once in a thousand times, and " is it not dreadful for me that such an extra- " ordinary occurrence should happen to the Em- " press ?'—' Forget her rank, and treat her like " a shop-keeper of the *Rue St. Denis;* I ask no- " thing more of you.'—' But may I use instru- " ments ? and if further accidents happen, which " am I to save, the mother or the child ?'—' The " mother: it is her right!' I then went to Ma- " ria Louisa: I quieted her, and supported her; " she was delivered, and the child lived. Un- " fortunate being!" Napoleon stopped; I re- spected his silence, and withdrew.

3rd.

The Emperor went out twice to take a ride in the calash. He ate little, and without ap- petite, and was troubled with dry and frequent coughing.

4th.

The prostration of strength increased. Na- poleon attempted twice to get into the calash, but was soon obliged to go to bed. He, how- ever, took some nourishment, but in a very small quantity; and ate with still less appetite than yesterday. At two P. M. he took two tonic pills.

The conversation began upon the fine arts. One of the parties engaged in it held music in very little estimation, and did not conceal his opinion. "You are wrong," said the Emperor to him; "of all liberal arts, music has "the greatest influence over the passions, and "is that to which the legislator ought to give "the greatest encouragement. A well-com- "posed song strikes and softens the mind, and "produces a greater effect than a moral work, "which convinces our reason, but does not "warm our feelings, nor effect the slightest al- "teration in our habits."

5th.

The Emperor had passed the night quietly, though almost without sleeping. He went out, and found himself better after having done so; and having taken two pills, he got into the calash again at three o'clock in the afternoon. He had scarcely taken any food. His appearance is livid, and his aspect that of a corpse.

6th.

Napoleon had had a tolerable night. He took a little soup. Extreme and general de-

pression. At nine A. M. he took some tonic pills, and towards evening he expressed a wish to eat something. Two lamb-chops were brought to him: he bade me taste them, asked me whether they were nutritive and of easy digestion; and after having addressed all these questions to me, he tasted them and left them. "What think you, Doctor? is not this a battle "lost?"—"A battle won, Sire, if you will..." —"What? take medicines?"—"But...."— "But! every one fights with his own weapons; "that is all right, Doctor. I like your tena- "ciousness."—"Your Majesty is then in league with the latitude?"—"Better still, Doctor! "whether from fear or conviction, it is all the "same to you, provided the patient takes "physic."—"However...."—"Well, what "more? health if I take, death if I refuse! "I have ceased to deceive myself; life is fast "escaping from me—I feel it; that is the reason "why I give up medicines: I wish to die of "*disease*. Do you hear?"

7th.

The patient had had a very restless night, and it was only at break of day that he could take a

little rest. He was not so weak as the preceding days. He was up, but quite in a *négligé*: I begged of him to take care of himself, and he set about his toilet. "When I was Na-"poleon," said he, with an expression of melancholy, "I dressed quickly and with plea-"sure; but now, what signifies it whether I "look well or ill? Besides, it occasions me "more fatigue than I formerly experienced in "disposing the plan of a campaign: let me "try, however," and he shaved; but he was obliged to proceed by degrees, and to take several intervals of rest. At last, however, he completed the operation, got into bed, and did not leave it the whole morning. At one P. M. he expressed a desire to take some food, and asked for roast lamb, fried potatoes, and coffee; but he scarcely touched any of these things when brought to him, notwithstanding which he experienced agitation and pains in the abdomen, accompanied by frequent and fetid ructations.

8th.

The night had been tolerably favourable, but the prostration of strength continued, and the feeling of indisposition became general.

The Emperor complained of a deep pain which manifested itself in the right hypochondriac region, on the left side of the breast, and extended to the shoulder.—Abdomen much distended—excessive inappetency—pulse weak and slow.—Ride in the calash.—Tonic pills. At four P. M. his stomach rejected the little food he had taken.

9th.

Saw the Emperor at four o'clock A. M. and found that he had passed a tolerably quiet night.—Frictions with ether, and the application of hot linen, dispelled the pain which had manifested itself in the left side.—Frequent and insipid ructations.

10th.

The patient had passed an extremely uneasy and sleepless night. He was very weak, but tolerably well.—Tonic pills.

The Emperor held in his hand a series of newspapers. I dreaded fatigue, and made an observation to that effect. "No, Doctor, this "is a scene of mirth and amusement; I am "reading of the devotedness of the King of

" Naples to the Constitutional system. These " legitimates are all of a benignity of dispo- " sition quite unequalled. Here, read: it is " impossible to say any thing better." I perused the document. Napoleon resumed:— " This *Maccaronaio* wished also to deceive me, " and to come to Rome and stir up a war of " religion against us; but I saw through his " *manœuvres*, and signified to him that it would " be better for him to remain in his dominions. " He thought the warning sufficient, and re- " spected it; but the preachers and Madonnas " were only the more active; the *Sept Communes* " were flying to arms: it became urgent to put " a stop to the crusade. I might have punish- " ed, but the legend was already voluminous " enough, and I did not choose to send these " mutineers to Heaven. I had them preached " to, and charged Joubert with this affair. " 'Require of the Bishop of Vicenza,' said I to " to him, 'to send missionaries into those coun- " tries, to preach tranquillity and obedience, " under pain of Hell. Let the missionaries " call upon you; give fifteen Louis to each, and " promise them they shall have more when " they return. You will see, that in a short time

" every thing will be quiet again.' And so it " turned out; for as soon as the men of God " were by the ears, the population, astonished " and in doubt, no longer felt any inclination " to make war."

11th.

Napoleon had passed a rather better night, and felt himself more easy. His spirits were less gloomy, his pulse more natural, and the abdomen in a more favourable state. Appetite had also returned, and the digestive organs performed their operations. He remained up thirteen successive hours, took tonic pills, and a ride in the calash.

12th.

The Emperor was not so well towards the evening.—Usual ride.—Tonic pills.

Lady Holland had sent a package of books, in which was also a little box inclosing a bust, in plaster of Paris, the head of which was covered with divisions and numbers referring to the craniological system of Gall. " Here, Doctor, " this belongs to your department; take it and

" study it, and then give me an account of it. " I should like to know what Gall would say if " he were to feel my head." I set to work; but the divisions were inexact, and the figures misplaced; and before I had had time to put them in order again, Napoleon sent for me. I found him in the midst of a great number of volumes scattered about him, reading Polybius. He said nothing at first, but continued to peruse the book he held in his hand; then suddenly threw it down, advanced towards me, looking steadfastly at me, and seizing me by the ears: " Well, *Dottoraccio di Capo Corso*, have you " seen the box?"—" Yes, Sire.—" Have you " examined Gall's system?"—" Nearly."—" Un- " derstood it?"—" I believe so."—" Are you " able to explain it?"—" Your Majesty shall judge."—" To understand my propensities and " appreciate my faculties by feeling my head?" —" And even without touching it." (He laugh- ed.) " You are, then, in possession of all " the requisite information?"—" Yes, Sire."— " Well, we will talk on the subject on some " future opportunity, when we shall have no- " thing better to do! As a resource, it will do " as well as any other; and it is sometimes

"amusing to consider how far folly may be "carried." He was walking; and after a short pause he resumed. "What did Mascagni think "of these German dreams? Come, speak with- "out reserve, as if you were conversing with "one of your own profession."—"Mascagni admired very much the manner in which Gall and Spurzheim develope and explain the various parts of the brain, and had also adopted that method which he considered eminently calculated to inculcate a thorough knowledge of this interesting organ. With respect to the system of judging the vices, propensities, and virtues of men by the protuberances on their heads, he considered it as an ingenious fable which might seduce men of the world, but which could not bear the examination of the anatomist."—"That is thinking and acting "like a wise man, who knows how to appre- "ciate the merit of a conception, and to divest "it of the errors and follies with which it is "loaded by quackery. I regret much that I "did not know him. Corvisart was a great "admirer of Gall; he praised him, protected "him, and used his utmost endeavours to push "him up to me; but there was no sympathy

"between us. Such men as Lavater, Cagli-
"ostro, Mesmer, have never ranked very high in
"my estimation. I even felt I knew not what
"kind of aversion to them; and did not, there-
"fore, feel disposed to admit the man who was
"a continuation of them. Gentlemen of this
"description are all dexterous and well-spoken:
"they work upon that thirst after the marvel-
"lous which the generality of mankind expe-
"rience, and give the colouring of truth to
"the falsest theories. Nature does not betray
"herself by her outward forms; she does not
"disclose her secrets,—she conceals them. To
"judge and examine men upon such slight in-
"dications is the act of a dupe or an impos-
"tor, such as are all those beings gifted with
"wondrous inspirations, of which herds are to
"be found in every large capital. The only
"way to know men is to see them, observe
"them, and put them to the test. To avoid
"falling into errors, they must be studied a
"long time, and be judged by their actions;
"and even that rule is not infallible, and re-
"quires to be restricted in its operation to the
"moment in which they act; for we seldom
"act consistently with our genuine disposition:

"we give way to the transport on impulse of "the moment, or are carried away by pas- "sion; and this constitutes what we call vice "and virtue, perversity or heroism. Such is "my opinion, and such has long been my "guide. Not that I pretend to deny the in- "fluence of disposition and education: I think, "on the contrary, that it is immense; but "beyond that, every thing is mere system and "folly."

13th.

The Emperor had passed a bad night.—Prostration of strength—inappetency—flatulencies in the stomach and the digestive canal—pulse low and nervous—general feeling of anxiety—complexion cadaverous. The patient took very little food, and remained nearly the whole day in bed. At seven o'clock P. M. the newspapers arrived from Europe, and the Emperor passed the night in perusing them.

14th.

At ten o'clock in the morning the Emperor was still reading: he rose, but continued to read, and would not listen to any advice on the subject. He, however, appeared

extremely tired and downcast, and his eyes were sunk, dim, and livid. He ate very little the whole day. Towards evening he took a ride, on his return from which he put a few questions to me respecting the state of his health, and then began once more to peruse the newspapers. Amongst the number of the defenders of Italian independence, he observed the name of a personage of whom he only preserved an imperfect recollection. "I "have some idea of that man; do you know "him?"—"Yes, Sire; he is one of the Marquesses of Pavia; one of the bullies who suffered themselves to be carried off by Giorno."—"Who is this Giorno? What are you speaking "about?"—"One of those obscure plots which your Majesty has forgotten. The partisans of Austria had taken courage; they went about the Lodero, animating the people and exciting them to revolt:—the nobility, thinking the moment favourable, put the National Guard, which was at their disposal, in a state of insurrection. The Cisalpine was without troops. A man came forward to face the storm: he went to the Governor, concerted his plans with him, and the chiefs of the rebellion were sent

for. When they were assembled, the Governor informed them that he was indignant at the excesses of some Revolutionists, whom he was about to punish and make an example of, and that it was for that reason he had convoked them. They expressed themselves highly pleased at his severity, and were applauding his intentions, and promising to shew no mercy, when Giorno, whose carriages had arrived, arrested the Areopagus, and carried it off, without the slightest attempt on the part of either conspirator or accomplice to offer any resistance. Such is * * * you have now an idea of the acts of his early years, and the measure of his courage."

The Emperor made no reply; and began to talk of Venice, and of the manner in which she had ended. I understood the allusion, and listened attentively. "Venice, notwithstanding "the insurrection of her continental possessions, "still preserved immense resources, and was "in a state to be able to resist. Time might, "besides, bring about other political combi- "nations, and leave to the nobles the power "which they had usurped. They knew not

" how to place themselves above threats and " privations; and basely yielding to fear, they " only sought to feign and betray. They flat- " tered themselves that we should be the dupes " of their artifices, that they should deceive us " with words, and that a revolution merely " illusory would be sufficient to calm us! The " Grand Council, therefore, bethought itself of " abdicating its power and promising demo- " cracy. This was equal to proclaiming it, " and the Council perceived what they had " done; but it was too late: public opinion had " marched forward, they could not retrace their " steps, and therefore had recourse to anarchy. " The Council filled the streets with bands of " Sclavonians, whom it directed and excited; " but the citizens fled to arms, and the plot " was defeated. What was now to be done? " What step was to be taken? That of para- " lyzing the people, by giving them a chief, " old and without energy, and incapable of ren- " dering their resources available. Salembini " was chosen for that purpose. Unfortunately, " however, this old man was still full of fire; " he chose and assembled experienced men, " took possession of the principal posts, and dis-

" persed the pillagers. They returned to the " charge, and endeavoured to take the Rinalto " by surprise. They approached—fired—rushed " upon the troops by which it was defended, " and put them to flight. Though abandoned " by his soldiers, the officer who commanded " this post did not lose courage; he flew " against the assailants, and engaged them " single-handed. Twice his sword broke, and " twice he armed himself anew at their ex- " pense; wounded five, killed four, and obliged " the remainder to fall back. His soldiers ral- " lied and returned; the combatants again ap- " proached and mixed, confusion ensued, and " the earth was strewed with the dead.

" The Senate beaten, without resource, was " obliged, in order to shelter itself against " the popular fury, to call for the French. " Admiral Condulmer made proposals to Bara- " guey-d'Hilliers, first offering him boats and " pressing him to enter Venice alone; then " imagining difficulties, raising obstacles, and " endeavouring, in a word, to gain time. He " sometimes spoke and acted like a simple " citizen disgusted with affairs, and sometimes

"like an admiral backed by all the influence "of power. We had no difficulty in seeing "through his *manœuvres;* we hastened our "preparations, and Venice was taken whilst "the aristocracy was still discussing its plots."

15th.

The Emperor was extremely dejected; the lower extremities were perfectly cold, and the pulse was low and irregular. "Ah, Doctor! "how much I suffer! . . . I do not feel my "bowels; it seems as if I had no abdomen "left. All the pain I experience is near the "spleen and the left extremity of the stomach: "I feel it; the moment of my death cannot "be far distant." During the whole day he only took a few spoonsful of soup and a few fried potatoes.

16th.

Saw the Emperor at ten, A. M.; found him in bed, plunged in a state of lethargic somnolency which he could not overcome. "To what a state "I am reduced! I, who was so quick, so ac- "tive, can now scarcely raise my eye-lids; but "I am no longer Napoleon:" and he closed his

eyes again. Towards the evening, however, yielding to my entreaties, he got up, placed himself on a sofa, and consented, with reluctance, to take some food.

Madame Bertrand came in, and the Emperor talked to her of walking out with him. "We will go out early, we will enjoy the "fresh air of the morning; we shall gain appetite, and escape the influence of the climate. "You, Hortense, and myself, are the greatest "invalids; we must assist each other, and unite "our strength to fight against the latitude, and "deprive it of its victims."

17th.

Napoleon had passed a tolerably quiet night. He rode out in the calash for the last time; but was obliged to come back almost immediately. At twelve o'clock, after having taken some food, the Emperor was seized with a violent pain in the head, accompanied by a sensation of extreme coldness, which affected his whole frame, but chiefly between the shoulders and towards the lower extremities. He shivered, and his teeth chattered.—The

pulse was very weak and nervous. These fatal symptoms lasted five minutes.

Abbé Buonavita was constantly sickly and suffering. Napoleon would not allow him to remain any longer on a rock where his zeal was appreciated, but where his services were not indispensable: he therefore gave him a pension of three thousand francs, and sent him away. I took advantage of the opportunity to write to the Chevalier Colonna the following letter:—

"Longwood, Island of St. Helena,
"17th March, 1821.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"In my letter of the 18th of July, 1820, I spoke to you of the chronic hepatitis under which his Majesty is labouring. That disease, which is *endemic* in the latitude where we are, appeared, however, to yield to the action of the remedies that had been administered: I had obtained some amelioration; but relapses have occurred, and since that time the patient has continually experienced sudden alternations, and all the effect of the treatment pursued has been

completely destroyed. The Emperor's situation is growing daily worse; the hepatic functions are no longer performed, and those of the digestive organs are entirely suspended. His Majesty is now reduced to such a state, that he can only feed upon liquid substances, which do not, as it were, require to be digested; and it is not even certain that these are received into the stomach, since they are rejected almost immediately after they have been taken.

"Such being the case, and in order to exculpate myself from all responsibility, I declare to you, to all the Imperial Family, and to the whole world, that the disease under which the Emperor is labouring is an effect of the nature of the climate, and that the symptoms it exhibits are of the most serious kind.

"Art is unavailing against the continued action of the air we breathe; and if the English Government does not hasten to remove Napoleon from this devouring atmosphere, I grieve to say that his Majesty will soon be no more.

"The English newspapers constantly repeat that the Emperor's health is good: but do not believe them; the event will prove whether those from whom they receive their intelligence are sincere or well informed.

"Your friend,

"F. ANTOMMARCHI."

"Accompany this good old man to James-Town," said the Emperor to me; "give him every assistance and every advice so long a voyage requires." I accordingly went, and conducted the Abbé to the ship which was to convey him to Europe. When I returned to Longwood, Napoleon said to me: "Is he on board?"—"Yes, Sire."—"Comfortably?"—"The ship appears good."—"And the crew?"——"Well composed."—"So much the better; I should like to know that the good ecclesiastic were already arrived at Rome, and safe from the dangers of the passage. What kind of reception do you think he will meet with at Rome; do you not suppose it will be a favourable one?"—I did not give an immediate answer, and Napoleon resumed.—"At any rate

"they owe it to me to treat him well; for, "after all, without me, what would have be- "come of the Church?"

18th.

The Emperor had passed a rather favourable night, but his strength still goes on declining: His pulse was low and nervous; he ate no thing, and talked incessantly. His conversation was droll and lively: he joked about my pills; and I laughed at the terror they occasioned him, and was fortunate enough to make him forget his sufferings for a few moments. He coughed: I ran to the calming draught.—"None "of that, if you please," said he; "I have already "taken too much of your cookery, I will have "no more of it."—"But, Sire, the cough...." "Of course! the cough, the liver, the sto- "mach! I shall expire if I do not submit to "swallow the julaps!...." I insisted; he railed at me. I entered into some details; he ridi- culed them; and I was at last obliged to yield. Having escaped from taking the medicine, he was pleased and in good spirits, and was inex- haustible on the subject of the profession and

its followers. I excited him; I laid myself open to his satire, and kept up that slight degree of contradiction which prolongs and animates conversation. To my arguments he opposed cases: I explained them, and was often right in spite of myself. He then varied his point of attack and his mode of discussion; always concluding by his favourite maxim, that nothing is so prejudicial as medicines taken internally. This conclusion I could not possibly admit; it would have been peremptory, and I should have been henceforth unable to prevail upon him to use any medicine whatever. I therefore warmly opposed it; demonstrating to him how erroneous it was, and to what injurious consequences it might lead. "Nature," said I, "undoubtedly Nature is powerful and inexhaustible, but still she must be assisted, and in most cases divined and interpreted." The Emperor had exhausted all his means of defence; but, unwilling to own the weakness of his theory, he seized upon the last word I had pronounced.—"Interpreted! you are a physician, I "leave that to you."—"No, Sire, I could not presume . . . ."—"What do you mean?"—"Nothing could possibly be better done!"—"Than

" what? To what do you allude?"—I laughed. " —Oh! I understand you; it is to the pro- " clamation, is it not? Undoubtedly the inter- " pretation was good; but the Councils were " again raising an outcry against the priests. " These unfortunate beings, rejected abroad, " persecuted at home, and reduced to the last " stage of misery, were on the point of perish- " ing. I extended a friendly hand to them; " and I welcomed them; the *tribune* dared not " proscribe men that were protected by me—the " persecution ceased, and I preserved to the " church its ministers."—" And notified also to the Conclave the inspirations of the Holy Ghost."—" No. A ballot was going on for three " candidates to the Apostolic See—Caprara, " Gerdil, and Albani. The first was at the head " of the discontented, and was backed by Spain; " I had nothing to say. The second was a " kind of saint, the choice of the lower clergy " and of devotees; his elevation was without " political consequence: but Albani was a " dependant of Austria, possessing judgment, " knowledge of the world, and a handsome " person; he might be dangerous, and I there-

"fore would not hear of him. I did not op-
"pose his being made a bishop; but I could not
"acknowledge, as a prince, the murderer of
"Basseville. It was far from my wish to in-
"terfere in matters of divine worship; the Re-
"volution had disturbed so many interests that
"it was but fitting that religious opinions, at
"least, should be respected. I caused over-
"tures to be made to the Pope; I proposed
"to him to join the French Government, and
"use his influence to consolidate the internal
"tranquillity of the two States and contribute
"to the advantage of both.

"'The moment is arrived,' said I to him, 'for
"executing an operation, in which wisdom,
"policy, and true religion, are equally inte-
"rested, and in the performance of which they
"must equally concur.

"'The French Government has just given
"permission to open anew the churches of the
"Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith, and
"grants to that religion tolerance and pro-
"tection.

" ' The priests will either take advantage of " this first act of the French Government in the " true spirit of the Gospel, by contributing to " public tranquillity, and preaching the true " maxims of charity, which are the foundation " of the religion of the Gospel; in which case I " have no doubt that they will obtain a more " special protection, and that this will be a " happy commencement towards the attain- " ment of the end so much desired: or they " will pursue a totally opposite line of conduct; " in which case they will be again persecuted " and driven away.

" ' The Pope, as the chief of the faithful, and " the common centre of faith, may have a great " influence over the conduct of the priests; and " he will, perhaps, think it worthy of his wis- " dom, and of the most sacred of all religions, " to promulgate a bull, or order, prescribing to " the priests to obey the Government, and do " all in their power to consolidate the esta- " blished Constitution. If that bull be ex- " pressed in terms concise and favourable to " the great end which it may produce, it will " be a great step towards the re-establishment

"of order, and extremely advantageous to the "prosperity of religion.

"'After this first operation, it would be use-"ful to know what measures might be taken to "reconcile the constitutional priests with those "that are not constitutional; and lastly, what "measures the Court of Rome might propose "to remove all obstacles, and bring back the "majority of the French people to principles "of religion.'

"'I request the ministers of his Holiness to "communicate these ideas to the Pope, and to "transmit his answer to me as soon as pos-"sible. The desire of being useful to religion "is one of the principal motives that induce "me to act.

"'The pure and simple doctrine of the "Gospel, the wisdom, policy, and experience "of the Pope, may, if they are exclusively lis-"tened to, produce fortunate results for the "Christian religion and the personal glory of "his Holiness.'

19th.

The patient had passed a pretty good night, but his strength and spirits were much depressed, and his pulse was frequent, weak, and nervous. At one A. M. the Emperor, who had only taken a few spoonfuls of soup, had an attack of fever, accompanied by general sensation of cold, which lasted about three-quarters of an hour, and was principally felt at the lower extremities.—Pain in the head—general atony—oppression—pain in the right hypochondriac region and the whole abdomen—dry cough—tongue damp and furred—throat and mouth lined with mucosities. Napoleon got out of bed, but his weakness increased, and he experienced a sensation of extreme inappetency, plenitude and oppression in the epigastric region, flatulency and costiveness in the abdomen, general anxiety. This state of agitation, accompanied by a sombre and peevish melancholy, lasted until five o'clock in the afternoon. He then tried to take a spoonful of soup, but it was immediately rejected: towards evening he tasted a little *charlotte*,* and had a few minutes

* A dish composed of apples and toasted bread.

sleep.—Simple enema.—At half past eleven P. M. he took a few spoonfuls of broth and an egg. The fever continued.

20th.

At two o'clock A. M. the Emperor experienced a violent oppression in the stomach, and a kind of painful suffocation in the chest. He felt an acute pain in the epigastric region, and the left hypochondriac region, which extended along the side of the thorax to the corresponding shoulder; the fever continued, the abdomen was extremely swelled, and painful on pressure, and the stomach quite relaxed.—Ordered dry fomentations on the part affected, and warm beverages of a slightly calming nature, which produced a tolerably favourable effect. At five P. M. the fever recommenced with redoubled violence, and was accompanied with icy coldness, particularly of the lower extremities; abdomen again swelled; extreme difficulty of breathing, and acute pain in all the viscera of the abdomen. The patient particularly complained of a cramp in the (to use his own expressions) *milza*, and in the *stacca sinistra dello stomaco*.

Pediluvium—dry fomentations on the abdomen—etherised frictions—anodyne enemas.

Madame Bertrand came in, and he made an effort to appear less dejected. He inquired after her health; and having conversed for a few minutes with a degree of cheerfulness, he said: "We must prepare for the fatal sentence. "You, Hortense, and myself are doomed to "meet our fate upon this miserable rock. I "shall go first, you will come next, and Hor- "tense will follow; we shall all three meet "again in the Elysian fields." He then began to recite these lines:

"Mais à revoir Paris je ne dois plus prétendre:
"Vous voyez qu'au tombeau je suis prêt à descendre;
"Je vais au Roi des rois demander aujourd'hui
"Le prix de tous les maux que j'ai soufferts pour lui."

VOLTAIRE, *Zaïre, Act II. Scene* 3.

21st.

I saw the Emperor at four A. M.; he had passed a very agitated night. At seven a dose of seven drachms of castor oil was given to him, in a cup full of herb-broth; but it did not go farther than the stomach, and the taste of it re-

mained all day in his mouth, without producing any effect. The spasmodic irritation of the stomach and the other abdominal viscera subsided, however, a little. The fever continued. At four P. M. the fever increased considerably, accompanied with a violent sensation of coldness, which did not, however, last very long.—Swelling of the abdomen, and acute pain in all the viscera of that cavity. The application of damp emollient fomentations produced a favourable effect. These fomentations were repeated at eleven P. M., and attended with the same success.

The Emperor had not slept all day; he had been some time reading, and asked to be read to: suddenly he was seized with a kind of delirium, which lasted about three hours, and during which he repeated little Italian songs, talked, laughed, and joked, as he usually did, when in good spirits and suffering less pain. The fever continued, but with less violence—the patient complained of being extremely tired.

I felt how very useful an emetic would be, and I entreated Napoleon not to be wanting in

his duty to himself, and make a slight effort to take one; but the bare name of it wrought his repugnance to the highest pitch, and he replied to me, exaggerating the uncertainty of medicine, "Can you even tell me in what my "disease consists? Can you even point out the "seat of it?" It was in vain that I represented to him that the art of healing does not proceed like the exact sciences; that the seat and the cause of the affections that are felt can only be established by inference: he would not admit any distinction of the kind. "If such be the "case," said he, "keep your physic: I will "not have two diseases—that with which I am "afflicted, and that which you would inflict "upon me." If I insisted, he accused us of working in the dark, of administering medicines at random, and of killing three-fourths of those who trust in us.

Sometimes he assumed a tone which I shall never forget. "I have entire confidence in "you," said he; "the manner in which you "have practised at Longwood has convinced "me of your skill: but I have never taken any "medicines; I consider them as uncertain and

"dangerous, and prefer trusting to nature. Be-
"sides, life will live, and does not require the
"assistance of art. I know my constitution,
"and am persuaded that the slightest medicine
"would disorder my stomach. What say you,
"you rogue of a doctor? Do you not think so?"
—"Very well, Sire; but a beverage slightly tinctured with emetic ....."—"What! an eme-
"tic beverage! is that not a medicine?" At last, however, he consented to take it; but how much I had insisted, entreated, disputed!

22d.

Night tolerable—sleep broken—slight perspiration—vague pains, sometimes in the liver, sometimes in the stomach, and sometimes also in the viscera of the abdomen—sensation of disgust, produced by the taste of castor oil remaining in the mouth.—Dry and wet fomentations, followed by a very marked relief. At seven A. M. the Emperor was rather better; he was almost without fever, and felt sufficiently strong to shave and try to dress; but at nine o'clock the fever increased, accompanied with cold, head-ach, and swelling of the abdomen. The patient experienced a strong degree of oppres-

sion in the epigastric region, and a feeling of suffocation caused by a superabundant secretion of glairous matter in the respiratory and digestive canals. At eleven, administered a quarter of a grain of tartar emetic, which was followed in the course of three-quarters of an hour by abundant vomiting of thick pituitous matters. The sensation of oppression and suffocation were dispelled.—Enema. I advised in vain a slight decoction of dog's-grass.*—Abundant perspiration —pulse almost calm.

23d.

The Emperor slept a little. At two, paroxysm of fever, accompanied by shivering. At ten administered, for the second time, a quarter of a grain of tartar emetic, which was followed by abundant vomiting of matters similar in their nature to those of the preceding day. At five, another paroxysm of fever, icy coldness of the lower extremities, swelling of the abdomen, yawnings, painful sensation in the abdominal viscera, oppression in the stomach, violent constipation. At six, foot-bath of warm water with mustard during twenty minutes. The

Triticum repens.

patient fell asleep at seven, and woke at eleven P. M. in a violent perspiration.—Enema.

24th.

The Emperor passed the remainder of the night tolerably well. At eight, enema. At ten, the fever had lost a little of its intensity, but the oppression of the epigastric region, and the sensation of suffocation were felt with increased violence. A quarter of a grain of tartar emetic, followed at eleven by abundant vomiting of glairous matter, which afforded considerable relief. At three P. M. exacerbation of fever, more violent than usual. The icy coldness, after having manifested itself at the lower extremities, extended all over the body—yawnings—general anxiety—pain in the head—distension of the abdomen, painful on pressure. The fever continued; the patient experienced a parching thirst, and drank with great pleasure some water sweetened with liquorice.

25th.

Night tolerably quiet, with abundant perspirations. The fever greatly diminished, and the

Emperor already spoke of his approaching recovery; but the abdomen was still swelled, and I endeavoured to re-establish order in the mucous secretions of the digestive canal. Prescribed, in order to detach the glairous substances, and facilitate their dissolution, a quarter of a grain of tartar emetic dissolved in a pound of whey. Napoleon refused to take it. At ten A. M. tightness of the abdomen—oppression in the epigastric region—pain in the abdomen—general anxiety—heaviness in the head, accompanied by slight vertigoes.—Three enemas without effect. Towards eight in the evening, refrigerant and anodyne fomentations on the abdomen. Pulse extremely irregular, and fever constantly varying in intensity. At eleven P. M. dry fomentations on the abdomen. The patient could not repose a single instant: he was low-spirited, uneasy, and extremely dejected. Anodyne beverages.

26th.

Bad night. At five A. M. enema, followed by some relief. Slight perspiration near the forehead and the upper extremities. At seven,

exacerbation of fever—tightness of the abdomen—borborygmi—oppression in the stomach—head-ach—spirits gloomy and peevish.

The disease assumed every day a more serious character: I was afraid to trust to my own skill, and the Emperor would not have any English physician. I found myself in a state of indescribable perplexity, which was further increased by an indiscreet offer from the Governor.—A physician had arrived, whose skill was incomparable, and who could cure every disorder; he thought the services of such a man might be useful to General Bonaparte, and he therefore placed him at the General's disposal. "In order to be a second edition of "Baxter, and make false bulletins! Does the "Governor still want to deceive Europe? or is "he already thinking of the autopsy? I will "not have any man who is in communication "with him." I made no observation upon the suspicions expressed by the Emperor, and seized a moment when he was more tranquil to hazard a few words about the necessity of a consultation.—"A consultation! what would

" be the use of it? You all work in the dark:
" another physician would not see more than
" you do what is passing in my body; and if
" he pretended that he could see more I should
" call him a quack, and should lose the little con-
" fidence I have still left in the sons of Hippo-
" crates. Besides, who should I consult? Eng-
" lishmen, who would be inspired by Hudson!
" No, I will have none of them; I have already
" told you so: I prefer letting the crime be ac-
" complished; the stain resulting from it will be
" equal to all my sufferings." The Emperor was warm, and I therefore did not insist for the moment, but waited until he was more calm, when I again pressed the subject. " You per-
" sist!" said he, with a tone of kindness:
" well! I give my consent. Consult with the
" physician of the island that you consider
" the most skilful." I applied to Dr. Arnott, surgeon of the 20th regiment, and described to him the symptoms of the complaint, and the principal circumstances of the Emperor's life. His opinion was:

"1st. To apply a large blister over the whole of the abdominal region."

2d. To administer a purgative.

3d. To make frequent aspersions of vinegar on the forehead.

When I rejoined the patient, the fever had decreased: two enemas afforded a little further relief. The Emperor asked me what was the result of the consultation, and I told him. He shook his head, appeared very little satisfied, and added, "That is English practice."

27th.

Five A. M. The night had been tolerably quiet.—Abundant perspiration—abdomen tight, and painful on pressure. I prescribed a saline mixture, slightly purgative, and an enema.—The Emperor consented to take the last mentioned remedy, and showed repugnance for the other. I insisted: he resisted, and began to question me respecting the composition of this medicine, its efficacy, and the harm it might do.—"It can do no harm, Sire."—"You are "certain of it?"—"Quite."—"But if it does?" —"I shall repair the mischief."—"By what "means?" I explained to him. "Well!

" prepare the dose: but I warn you that my " stomach is not accustomed to your drugs; " therefore make your arrangements accord- " ingly." I prepared the medicine; but he no sooner saw it ready than he began to laugh, and said, " You are in too great a hurry, " Doctor: not yet; I will think about it." We entreated him not to abandon his own defence, and to seek some relief to his sufferings. He grew impatient, and told us that we were all in league together against his poor stomach, that we knew very well that he did not believe either in medicine or medicines; and bade us let him alone. At nine A. M. exacerbation of fever, accompanied by icy coldness, which was chiefly felt at the lower extremities, pain in the head, oppression in the stomach, tightness of the abdomen. Towards evening, and during the night, the intensity of the fever gradually diminished.

The Emperor was frequently in want of me; and to send for me, to go, and return, took up time: he would no longer have it so. " You " must be quite exhausted, Doctor," said he with kindness; " you are constantly dis-

" turbed, and have not a moment to sleep. I " am not gone yet, and must take care of you: " I will have a bed prepared for you in the next " room." He accordingly gave immediate orders to that effect; and then, having described the symptoms and sensations he experienced, he added; " Doctor! we are come to the point in " spite of your pills. Do you not think so?"— " Less than ever."—" Poh! less than ever! this " is another medical deception. What effect do " you suppose that my death will produce in " Europe?"—" None, Sire." He did not give me time to finish. " None!"—" No; because it will not happen."—" But if it did happen?"— " If it did, Sire, then ....."—" Then what?"— " Your Majesty is the idol of the soldiers; they would be inconsolable, and the nations would be at the mercy of kings, and the popular cause for ever lost."—" Lost! Doctor—and my son! Can " you suppose .....?"—" No, Sire, nothing; but what a distance to traverse!"—" Is it greater " than that I have gone?"—" What obstacles to overcome!"—" Had I less obstacles to com- " bat? Did I start from a higher point? No, " Doctor; my son bears my name, and I leave " him my glory, and the affection of my friends:

" it is not difficult to inherit my estate." I made no reply: this was the illusion of a father at his last agony, and it would have been too cruel to destroy it.

28th.

Abdomen tight and painful. I proposed a mild purgative; but as soon as the Emperor heard the name mentioned, he feigned to yield to sleep, let his head fall upon his breast, and stretched himself in his bed. I had recourse to all the usual common-place arguments. He listened to me with his eyes closed, and heaving a deep sigh as soon as he heard that I had finished my homily; " What were " you saying, Doctor?" I recommenced my speech, and he recommenced his *manœuvre*, and at last got rid of me in that way. At nine A. M. exacerbation of fever, accompanied by icy coldness at the lower extremities, and a violent head-ach. The remainder of the day was more favourable; the patient took more food than usual.

29th.

Bad night. — At one A. M. paroxysm of fever—excessive coldness of the lower extremi-

ties — head-ach — swelling of the abdomen. At day-break, enema without effect. At nine A. M. renewed paroxysm of fever — violent pain in the head—somnolency—abundant perspiration. The patient drank largely, and with pleasure, of some water edulcorated with liquorice.—Tongue covered with a white substance —mouth and throat lined with viscous matters. At two P. M. the fever began to diminish.

The disease was making rapid progress. I again made an attempt, and, at the risk of displeasing the Emperor, entreated him no longer to reject the assistance of medicine. He made no reply, remained a few minutes absorbed in thought, and then said:—"You are right; I "shall see: for the moment your attendance is "not necessary; you may withdraw." I was going, but he called me back, and began to discuss about fate, whose blows not all the faculties in the world could avert or suspend. I endeavoured to combat this fatal doctrine; but he spoke vehemently, and constantly recurred to his usual sayings, "*Quod scriptum, scrip-*"*tum.* Can you doubt, Doctor, that every "thing that happens is written down; that our

" hour is marked, and that it is not in the " power of any of us to take from time a por- " tion which nature refuses us?" I ventured to contradict him; he grew angry, and *sent me to the devil with my drugs.* I withdrew; but a moment had sufficed to restore him to his natural kindness, and before I could reach my room he sent for me, and told me that he would henceforth behave more respectfully towards medicine; that he would no longer be wanting in deference, nor doubt its efficacy. " But, Sire, will your Majesty consent to take medicines?"—" Ah!" replied he, with a tone of voice that expressed the excessive repugnance he felt, " that is, perhaps, beyond my power; " for the aversion I feel for medicines is almost " inconceivable. I exposed myself to dangers " with indifference; I saw death without emo- " tion: but I cannot, notwithstanding all my " efforts, approach my lips to a cup containing " the slightest preparation. True it is, that I " am a spoilt child, who has never had any " thing to do with physic." Then turning to Madame Bertrand: " How do you manage to " take all those pills and drugs which the Doc- " tor is constantly prescribing for you?"—" I

take them without thinking about it," answered she, "and I advise your Majesty to do the same." He shook his head, and addressed the same question to General Montholon, and to his valets, who had all been more or less indisposed. Having received from all the same answer, he said to me, "I am, then, the only one who rebels against medicine; I will no longer do so: give me your stuff." I accordingly gave him ten grains of extract of rhubarb, which he took, and which produced the desired effect.

30th.

The Emperor had passed a night of extreme agitation. At one A. M. he had taken an enema, and at two P. M. I administered six grains of extract of rhubarb, which produced abundant vomiting of glairous substances. At three paroxysm of fever, with head-ach and icy coldness of the lower extremities. The fever continued the remainder of the day without losing any thing of its intensity.

Eleven P. M.—Restless night. The unfavourable symptoms continued, and the exacerbation of the fever was accompanied by a considerable

degree of tightness in the abdomen, borborygmus, painful sensation and almost intolerable heat in the abdomen and the chest. I repeated the fomentations.—The patient was gloomy and uneasy.

I endeavoured to dispel the melancholy ideas which assailed the Emperor, by speaking to him of some of the men to whom I knew he had been very much attached; such as Dugua, Caffarelli, Kleber. "Kleber was the god Mars "in regimentals: he possessed courage, genius "of conception, and every requisite qualification; "but unfortunately he was too soon removed "from the scene of his exploits. I was anxious "to attach him to me, and proposed to him to "form part of the invasion with which we "threatened England. 'I should like it,' said "he; 'but if I ask, the lawyers will refuse.'—'I "will arrange that for you,' answered I.—'Well, "in that case, if you send a fire-ship on the "Thames, put Kleber in it, and you will see "what he can do.'"

31st.

The unfavourable symptoms which had begun to appear yesterday lasted until this morning.

At daybreak a violent perspiration took place, and the fever lost a great deal of its violence. At eight A. M. a paroxysm returned, but was of short duration. Towards evening the Emperor was much better, but still complaining of the affection in the abdomen. He refused the use of laxative medicines, and took two enemas.

At nine P. M. new exacerbation of the fever, accompanied by intolerable heat in and tensity of the abdomen—lethargic somnolency. Towards the middle of the night the fever diminished considerably. I continued the fomentations.

April 1st.

Abundant perspirations: the patient had been tolerably quiet the remainder of the night. At eight A. M. he experienced an exacerbation of fever, accompanied by somnolency, and followed by a violent perspiration. The pulse at ten A. M. gave seventy-five pulsations per minute. Abundant perspirations from the head, the chest, the spine, the upper extremities, and even the abdominal region: the lower extremities alone were free from it. At about eight in the evening another paroxysm occurred, com-

plicated with burning heat and excessive tensity of the abdomen, heaviness in the head, and dry and frequent coughing. I had obtained the Emperor's permission to send for the surgeon of the 20th regiment, to hold a consultation with him. The case was becoming more serious, and I wished to have the benefit of the experience of this practitioner, and asked the Emperor to allow him to be admitted: he consented; and I accordingly introduced Doctor Arnott. The room was dark: Napoleon liked to remain in total darkness, and would not even allow a light to be brought whilst the English physician was with him. He permitted him to feel his pulse, and to examine the state of the abdomen, of which he complained very much; asked him what he thought of his complaint, and dismissed him, expressing a wish to see him the next day at nine o'clock.

The orderly officer, whose duty it was to certify the presence of Napoleon, was obliged each day to make a report to the Governor, stating that he had seen him: but the Emperor having been confined to his bed ever since the 17th of March, he had been unable to fulfil that part of his

instructions. Sir Hudson thought he was betrayed, and came to Longwood with his suite. He went all round the house; and seeing nothing, he grew angry, and threatened the officer with the severest punishment if he did not satisfy himself of the presence of *General* Bonaparte.

The officer was placed in a very embarrassing situation; for he was aware of the Emperor's intention, and had, besides, no expectation that he would ever go out of the house. He applied to General Montholon and Marchand, who, feeling for his perplexity, found means to relieve him from his anxiety, and to enable him to calm the anger of Sir Hudson. It was necessary to arrange matters in such a way as to prevent Napoleon from perceiving the agent of the Governor, or even suspecting his presence. This was not easy to accomplish; they, however, succeeded.

The Emperor's bed-room was on the ground floor, and the windows were low enough to permit a view of every thing that was going forward in the apartment. Napoleon, habitually

costive, was obliged to resort to enemas; the seat for that purpose was, on this occasion, placed opposite the window, and whilst General Montholon and myself were near the patient, Marchand gently opened the curtains a little, as if to look out into the garden; and the officer, who was waiting outside, looked in, saw, and was enabled to make his report. This, however, did not satisfy the Governor; he dreamt but of flights and evasions, and not a day passed that he did not endeavour to pry into the habitation *(surprendre le seuil)* of his prisoner. At last, on the 31st of March, he declared, that if in the course of that, or at latest the next day, his agent was not enabled to see *General Bonaparte*, he would come to Longwood with his staff, and force his way into the house, without caring for the unpleasant consequences this step might produce. General Montholon endeavoured to induce him to abandon this intention; he represented to him the respect due to misfortune, and how much his unexpected appearance would discompose the Emperor and wound his feelings; but Sir Hudson turned a deaf ear to these arguments. It was of little concern to him, whether the prisoner lived or

died; his duty was to secure his person, and that duty he would fulfil. I saw the tiger prowling round the house; I was suffocating with rage, and was going out, when he stopped me. "What is *General Bonaparte* doing?"—"I know not."—"Where is he?"—"I cannot say."—"He is not there?" (pointing to the cabin.)—"He is not."—"What! he has disappeared?"—"Quite."—"How? When?"—"I do not recollect precisely."—"Endeavour to collect your ideas: since what hour.....?"—"What hour! The last battle he commanded was that of Aboukir. He fought for civilization; you were protecting barbarism: he defeated your allies, and threw them into the sea; his victory was complete: I have not heard of him since."—"Doctor!"—"Excellency!"—"All here....."—"No!"—"Who?"—"I."—"You?"—"I."—"Soldiers!..."—"Soldiers! hasten: fill up the measure of your indignities, by depriving the Emperor of the short remains of his existence."—"The Emperor! what Emperor?"—"He who made England tremble; who showed France the way to Dover, and placed in the hands of the Continent the weapon which will sooner or later give the death-blow to your aris-

tocracy." His Excellency marched off, and I remained alone with Reade.—" It is not thus . . ."—"No, surely it is not thus ; that soul must be formed of the mud of the Thames, who can come and watch for the last breath of a dying man : his agony is too long for your impatience ; you wish to hasten it—to enjoy it. The Cimbrian, who had been ordered to kill Marius, drew back appalled at the sight of the crime he was about to commit ; but you . . . Ah ! if opprobrium can be at all commensurate to the outrage, we are fully avenged."

The resolution taken by the Calabrian was too firm, and his own temper too savage, to permit any hope that the rules of decorum or the dictates of humanity would be attended to. Count Bertrand and General Montholon, therefore, sought some other means to appease the storm. They represented to Napoleon that his health required care, and the assistance of a skilful practitioner ; and they were fortunate enough to induce him to call in a consulting physician. —He chose Doctor Arnott, whom the Governor made responsible for the existence of the Emperor, and who was obliged to make every day,

to the orderly officer, a report, which the latter was to transmit to Plantation-House.

2d.

The Emperor passed a very restless night; he had abundant clammy perspirations over the head, the spine, the breast, and the upper extremities. He was extremely weak, and his pulse gave seventy-six pulsations per minute. At seven A. M. new paroxysm, accompanied with yawnings, heaviness in the head, and abdominal pains. Dry and frequent coughing.

At nine A. M. I introduced Dr. Arnott to the Emperor, who put several questions to him relative to his disease, complaining of pains in the stomach and the abdomen. The English physician proposed animal food, such as gelatinous or other similar substances, the choice of which must be subordinate to the state of the digestive powers. He further advised that the patient should remain in bed as little as possible, and should use pills of

Extract of socotrine aloes,
Hard soap, ... } ana, half a drachm.
Oil of Careum, two drops.

Twelve pills to be made, and two to be taken in the morning, and two at night. The Emperor manifested extreme repugnance to all medicines, particularly in a liquid state.

Eleven A. M. — Abundant clammy perspiration. Fever considerably diminished.

Three P. M.—Continuation of the perspiration; the swelling of the abdomen increased every moment; oppression in the stomach, accompanied by a sensation of pulsation.. The patient refused to take the pills: enemas immediately followed by a slight evacuation.

At a quarter to five, a new exacerbation of fever occurred, accompanied by icy coldness, particularly at the lower extremities.

At seven, some of the servants brought in a report that they had seen a comet towards the east.—"A comet," exclaimed Napoleon, with emotion, "that was the sign, precursor of the "death of Cæsar." I came in in the midst of the agitation into which this report had thrown him.—"You have seen, Doctor? . . ."—"No,

Sire, nothing." — "How so, the comet?" — "There is no comet to be seen!"—"It has "been observed."—"That is a mistake; I have looked at the sky for a length of time without being able to discover any thing of the kind."— "Labour lost, Doctor; I am at the end of my "career, every thing tells me so; you alone "persist in concealing the fact from me: but to "what purpose? why should I deceive myself? "I am, however, wrong to complain; you are "attached to me, and wish to save me the "agony of knowing my fate: I feel grateful "for your intention."

3d.

The patient passed a tolerable night, and slept a great deal. At six in the morning, enema, followed by an abundant evacuation of pituitous matters.

As I was coming from the Emperor, I met Thomas Reade. He was impatient and uneasy, and anxious to see Napoleon inhabit the new house: he spoke to me about it; expressing his surprise that I should allow him to remain and be stifled in ill-ventilated and unwholesome

rooms, whilst we could dispose of magnificent apartments.—"I understand," said I: "murdered in a hovel! He must expire in a palace: the combination is too British; I cannot lend myself to it—try elsewhere."—He did so. I had scarcely brought Dr. Arnott to the Emperor's bed-side, when he began to descant upon the advantages of moving. Napoleon listened to him without answering a word; and after a few minutes' consideration, he turned to me.—"Is that your opinion, Doctor?"—"No, Sire, the fever is too violent; the removal from one house to another might be attended with the most serious consequences."—"You have heard," said he to Arnott; "we must think no more about it." The Doctor endeavoured to take up the conversation again, but the Emperor turned a deaf ear, and the subject was dropped.

The Emperor was plunged in a deep melancholy.—Pulse weak, quick, and irregular—pulsations varying from seventy-four to eighty per minute—heat of the body ninety-six degrees of Fahrenheit—skin more damp than usual.—Second enema. The patient perspired very con-

siderably, experienced thirst, but could not eat. He felt a wish to take a little wine, and drank some claret; but obstinately refused all kind of medicine. At three P. M. third enema, followed by the same results as the two preceding. Between four and five, exacerbations of fever, accompanied by icy coldness at the lower extremities, head-ach, painful tension of the abdomen, dry cough, and violent oppression in the region of the stomach.

The Emperor appeared to me to be in imminent danger, and I communicated my fears to Dr. Arnott, who, far from having the same feeling, augured very favourably of his state. I should have wished to entertain the same hopes, but I could not conceal from myself that Napoleon was drawing near his end. I stated this conviction to Counts Bertrand and Montholon; and the latter took upon himself to inform the Emperor that his hour was approaching, and to engage him to settle his affairs.

4th.

The fever continued the whole night, with alternations of heat and cold; particularly

at the lower extremities. The patient experienced a painful tension of the abdomen, parching thirst, painful sensation of suffocation, extreme uneasiness, and general anxiety. His imagination was disturbed by night-mares and frightful dreams.—Nausea—vomiting of glairous matters—abundant perspirations of a clammy nature, particularly about the head, along the back and the upper extremities.

At eight A. M. the Emperor was rather better; but his pulse was at eighty-four, and the heat of his body was above the natural degree. The patient drank a great deal of water, coloured with claret.

At ten A. M. new exacerbation of fever, accompanied by coldness of the lower extremities, painful heaviness in the head, and violent tension of the abdomen.—Borborygmus.

One P. M.—Paroxysm, accompanied by nausea and glairous vomitings; which, after violent efforts, were renewed at two o'clock, in greater abundance, and thicker substances.

5th.

The Emperor passed a night of extreme agitation: he had four successive vomitings, and the fever continued to rage with violence until two in the morning, when it began to abate. He was considerably weakened by abundant clammy perspirations about the head, the back, and the breast. The tension of and pain in the abdomen, and the general sensation of uneasiness and anxiety, had not ceased for a single minute.

Napoleon was quite overpowered by his sufferings, and exclaimed several times — "Ah! "since I was to lose my life in this deplorable "manner, why did the cannon-balls spare it?"

At ten A. M. slight exacerbation of the fever. The patient was a little better, but extremely weak; complaining a great deal of pain in the stomach, and taking scarcely any food.

At four P. M. nausea and vomiting of glairous matters.

At six P. M. the patient took a pill composed of extract of socotrine aloes and soap. It left an unpleasant taste in the mouth, which remained the whole evening, and part of the night.—Fit of fever.

At ten, diminution of fever, followed by abundant viscous perspiration.

6th.

The night was not unfavourable; the pill, however, produced no effect, and the fever returned with increased violence. The patient's rest was frequently interrupted by parching thirst: he called every moment for something to drink, without being able to quench it. The usual clammy perspiration about the head, the chest, the spine, and the upper extremities, was more abundant than it had yet been. In the morning the fever had greatly diminished —seventy to eighty pulsations a minute—heat almost natural. The patient refused all food, and every kind of medicines.

At noon, the Emperor had fallen into a kind of drowsiness; he persisted in refusing to take any food. I begged him to refresh his mouth

with something.—" Let me alone, Doctor; do " not disturb the repose I now enjoy."

One P. M.—The Emperor took two purgative pills. We proposed the use of cordials, particularly decoction of bark.

Exacerbation of fever, accompanied with icy coldness at the lower extremities, head-ach, pain in the liver and the stomach, and painful tension of the abdomen. The patient appeared very much agitated, and was seized with vomiting of thick pituitous and filaceous substances. The purgative pills produced at last an abundant evacuation of bilious, mucous, and glairous matter.

It was now about twenty days since the Emperor had been able to shave, and he had allowed his beard to grow to such a pitch that it was quite troublesome. I had often endeavoured to persuade him to order one of his servants to shave him, but he had always eluded the subject. At last, however, the inconvenience to him became so intolerable, that he expressed a wish to be shaved. I proposed to him to send for Cursot or some other of his suite; he at

first made no reply, pondered a few minutes, and then said, "I have always shaved myself; "nobody has ever put his hand upon my face: "I am now without strength, and must, of "necessity, resign and submit to that against "which my nature has always revolted. But "no, Doctor," added he, turning towards me, "it shall not be said that I have thus suffered "myself to be touched; it is only you that I "will allow to shave me." I had never shaved but my own beard; I therefore pleaded my inexperience, and tried every effort to induce the Emperor to employ a more skilful hand. "Very well, it shall be as you like; but cer- "tainly no one but yourself shall ever boast of "having put his hands on my face. I shall see, "however."

7th.

The patient passed the night in a state of incessant agitation. Borborygmus—violent pain in the head.—At two o'clock in the morning the fever began to decrease, after some abundant partial viscous perspirations; but he remained affected with a slight heaviness in the head, and a general sensation of ailing.—Pulse low, quick, and irregular.

Three P. M.—Two enemas. The Emperor was in tolerably good spirits, and took at four a spoonful of jelly and a roasted apple.

At five the Emperor rose, shaved, and dressed. "Well, Doctor, not this time yet!"—"I told you, Sire, that your hour was not yet arrived." I drew his arm-chair near him; he sat down, asked for the newspapers, and was perusing them with a certain degree of satisfaction, when he met with I know not what offensive anecdote respecting two of his generals, which was said to have been related by one of us. His countenance assumed an expression of severity; his eye became sparkling. "It is you, Sir, who "circulate such infamous anecdotes; and it is "in my name that you relate them! What in- "duces you, what prompts you to act in that "way? What is your object? Is it to repre- "sent me as keeping a school of defamation "that you have followed me here? What! it "is I who degrade and dishonour my friends, "my partisans, those who have attached them- "selves to my fortune? Wherefore do you "tarry? What detains you? Hasten to Eu- "rope; you will write 'Letters from the Cape,'

"or 'from the Mediterranean,' or some other "place; for there is no difficulty in framing a "libel. The emigrants will applaud, I shall not "be there to contradict your assertions, and "you will enjoy your falsehood: go!" The individual, thus admonished, withdrew. Napoleon continued: "No doubt faults were com- "mitted, but who is exempt from faults? "The citizen, in the quiet tenor of his easy life, "has his moments of weakness and strength; "and it is required that men grown old in the "midst of the hazards of war, who have con- "stantly had to contend with all kinds of diffi- "culties, should never have been inferior to "themselves: at any moment—should have al- "ways exactly hit the mark!"

At six P. M. the patient took a purgative pill: we again proposed to him the decoction of bark. He took some arrow-root, two spoonfuls of jelly, and a little water mixed with red wine. Between nine and ten, paroxysm, accompanied by the usual symptoms. At eleven, partial, clammy perspiration, in greater abundance than ever.

8th.

Very bad night.—Pulse, without being fever-

ish, was weak, quick, and irregular. The Emperor, at seven A. M., took a few spoonfuls of arrow-root and jelly. At twelve he again took some jelly and two biscuits, with a little Frontignan wine. At three P. M. he consented to take a decoction of one ounce of bark, mixed with a few drops of spirituous tincture of the same drug. Towards night he again took some jelly, and a vermicelli soup.—Purgative pill.

9th.

The Emperor passed a tolerably good night: he took some tea, acidulated with citron juice, and at three o'clock in the morning an ounce of decoction of bark with spirituous tincture of the same substance, and at day-break he was seized with vomiting of glairous matters.—Pulse weak and irregular; seventy-two to eighty pulsations per minute. The patient was uneasy and gloomy.—Extreme prostration of strength.

10th.

Nothing very particular. The patient experienced continued nausea, and rejected almost all the food he took. His strength more and more on the decline. Pulse seventy-two.

The Emperor thought, however, that he felt better. "The crisis is over, and I am now "fallen again into the same state in which I "have been languishing for the last eight "months, very weak and no appetite, and "then . . ." (he placed his hand on the right hypochondriac region;) "it is there, in the liver. "Ah! Doctor, to what a latitude they have con- "signed me!" He hung down his head, and remained motionless until the moment when the surgeon of the 20th, who had asked his permission to feel his liver, endeavoured to persuade him that the organ he complained of was sound. He cast upon him a look which was assuredly not one of conviction, shook his head, appeared thoughtful for a moment, and said to him with a kind of sarcastic smile, "It "is well, Doctor; I am obliged to you for the "hope you endeavour to restore to me: go."— We both withdrew.

11th.

During the night vomitings had occurred. The repetition of these accidents became alarming, and I was very desirous of putting a stop to it, and proposed an anodyne anti-emetical mixture. But he refused to take it, and grew

impatient; and I therefore did not insist. I had retired to my apartment, when he sent for me. "Doctor," said he, when I came into the room, "your patient will henceforward obey "medicine; he is resolved to take the reme- "dies you prescribe." Then looking at those of his servants who were standing round his bed, he added, with a gentle smile: "Begin "by physicking all those rascals, and physick "yourself; you all stand in need of medi- "cines." Hoping to stimulate his *amour propre*, we all tasted the mixture. "Well, well," said he, "I will not be the only one who "shall not dare to face a dose. Come, give it "quickly!" I presented the cup to him; he swiftly carried it to his mouth, and swallowed its contents at one draught. Unfortunately, however, it produced very little effect; the vomiting continued, and occurred three times between half past five and seven A. M.—Pulse in the same state as on the preceding days.

At eleven o'clock the Emperor got out of bed, and remained an hour in his arm-chair. He took a spoonful of distilled cinnamon-water mixed with common water.

One P. M.—Icy coldness at the lower extremities, which I endeavoured to dispel by fomentations. "No," said he, "it is not there—it is "in the stomach, in the liver, that the disease "resides. You have no remedies against the "burning heat which consumes me; no prepara-"tions, no medicines, capable of slaking the fire "that rages within me!" Arnott attempted once more to persuade him that the liver was sound. "It must be so, since such is Hudson's decree!" After the most violent efforts, another vomiting of glairous substances occurred, followed by hiccup. Sleep light, and often interrupted by a sensation of suffocation produced by the great quantity of glairous matter secreted in the throat and the larynx.—The whitish and viscous substance which covered the tongue had disappeared; but in its stead that membrane was enveloped by a coat of transparent pituitous matter.

At two P. M. I administered a tea-spoonful of anti-emetic mixture, and at five the patient took some jelly, two spoonfuls of Frontignan wine, and two biscuits.

Nine P. M.—Usual purgative pill. The Emperor complained, for some time after having swallowed it, that it inconvenienced him very much, and produced in his stomach an intolerable sensation of heaviness. Towards the middle of the night abundant vomiting of glairous matters. The pulse in a state of apyrexy, weak, quick, and irregular. At midnight the patient took a little jelly, with two spoonfuls of claret. He could not sleep a single moment. Painful abdominal tension.

12th.

The Emperor passed a very restless night. At three and four in the morning, glairous vomitings. His strength continues to decline.

At seven A. M. he took a little jelly, with three spoonfuls of red wine, and in an hour afterwards two more spoonfuls of jelly.

Eleven A. M.—Vomiting of thick pituitous matter. The Emperor took a little jelly, a spoonful of red wine, and a little hot wine with toasted bread in it.

The Emperor got up at one P. M., and was supported to his arm-chair; but in half an hour afterwards he experienced an icy coldness in the lower extremities, and was obliged to get into bed again. At two, enema. The patient very much agitated the remainder of the day, and the short intervals of light sleep which he had were interrupted by a sensation of suffocation. Nausea, followed by abundant vomiting of glairous matters. Sleep, during which his whole frame was convulsed—kind of continual mastication.

At eight P. M. the patient took with pleasure a few spoonfuls of rice-cream.

At nine, another attack of fever, accompanied with icy coldness of the lower extremities, and all the other symptoms with which these attacks are usually complicated. I endeavoured to dispel it.—"Many thanks for "your care, Doctor; it is labour lost: the as- "sistance of medicine is unavailing; the hour "has struck; my disease is mortal. Dr. Arnott, "do not people sometimes die of debility? How "is it possible to live with so little food?"

13th

Night extremely agitated. The rice-cream eaten by Napoleon was thrown up by vomiting, with a large quantity of glairous matters. The prostration of strength goes on increasing.—Simple enema.—Violent oppression on the stomach. At seven A. M. the patient took some jelly. At ten, vomiting of glairous matters.—Enema.—The patient took a little more jelly, and a roasted apple.

The Emperor refused to continue to take the purgative pills. I endeavoured to triumph over his repugnance, and strongly urged him to overcome a slight feeling of disgust.—"Are "they well wrapt up, well covered?"—"Yes, Sire."—"They will not poison my mouth?"—"Your Majesty will not even perceive that they have any taste at all."—"Indeed!"—"Assuredly."—"Well, then, you rogue, swal-"low them," said he to Marchand; who immediately obeyed, protesting they were not at all disagreeable to take.—"I told you so: is it "not true, Doctor, that he required physicking, "and that my pills will do him good?"—"They

" cannot do harm."—" Give him more: for my " part, I shall not take any of them again; " I prefer enemas—they are the simplest and " most efficacious of remedies. The English," added he, jokingly, " are ashamed to use them; " but I am not so squeamish, and submit to " necessity."

At about noon, two successive glairous vomitings. At one P. M. the Emperor got up, was supported to his arm-chair, and took the usual dose of tincture of bark; but in the course of half an hour he was taken back to his bed. He then asked for paper and an inkstand, and gave directions that he might not be disturbed in his apartment. Count Montholon and Marchand were the only two persons who went in.

At eight P. M. Napoleon took a little jelly, and a few spoonfuls of arrow-root. The fever continued with very irregular intermissions and paroxysms. The patient said that he felt he was growing weaker every day, and that all his strength was forsaking him.

14th.

The Emperor passed a very bad night. The fever diminished after abundant partial clammy perspirations. The prostration of strength was still considerable, but not so great as on the preceding day.

At seven A. M. the patient took some tea acidulated with juice of citron—at eight some chocolate—at nine a little jelly—at half-past nine some hot wine and toasted bread; and at a quarter past ten two cakes *(gauffres)*.

At noon the morbific symptoms were much abated, and the patient was in pretty good spirits and took another portion of hot wine. He received Doctor Arnott in the most affable manner; explaining to him the sensations he experienced, and questioning him as to what was to be done for him: then suddenly starting from medicine to war, he began to talk about the English armies, and the generals by which they were successively commanded, and passed a most magnificent encomium upon

Marlborough. The Emperor was better; hope was reviving in my breast; I could not suppress the manifestation of a movement of gaiety; he perceived it, cast a look upon me, and continued: "Marlborough was not a man "whose mind was narrowly confined to the "field of battle; he fought and negotiated; he "was at once a captain and a diplomatist. "Has the 20th regiment got his Campaigns?" —"I think not."—"Well! I have there a copy "of them, which I am glad to offer to that "brave regiment. Take it, Doctor; and you "will place it in their library as coming from "me." The Doctor took the work, and withdrew. "What was the matter with you?" said Napoleon, when we were alone. "Nothing, Sire; a recollection of the song of *Malbrouck*, with which I was lulled to sleep in my infancy, recurred to my mind; and I should have burst out into a fit of laughter, had I not been in presence of your Majesty."—"Such is the effect "of ridicule; it casts a stigma upon every "thing, even victory." The Emperor himself was laughing, and began to hum the first verse of the song. We were handling Marlborough humorously, but his Excellency was not so

tractable. He perceived the edition of the Campaigns under Dr. Arnott's arm, disapproved of his having taken it, and would not allow the book to come in contact with the 20th regiment. Arnott, disconcerted, became fearful in his turn lest the work should give him the plague, and hastened to deposit it with the orderly officer, who was a captain of that regiment, and who, less timorous, did not hesitate to receive it. This act of impropriety angered Hudson; he hastened to the spot, threatened, and removed the officer from his post. He fully deserved this treatment, for he had accepted a book which Arnott had delivered to him.

At two P. M. vomiting of glairous substances, which was almost immediately followed by violent convulsive agitations, which lasted about an hour and a half.—Pulse weak and intermittent — icy coldness — cold and clammy perspirations—painful tension of the abdomen—head-ach—oppression in the stomach—general atony. Napoleon rose twice in the course of the day, but with great difficulty, and only remained up a short time. Towards evening the prostration of strength increased.

At seven P. M. the patient took some broth with toasted bread, and a little jelly. He passed the remainder of the evening quietly, and enjoyed a little sleep, until eleven P. M., when he was awakened by violent nausea, followed by vomiting of glairous matters.

15th.

The Emperor passed a bad night; he was drowsy, covered with cold viscous perspirations, and experienced a general sensation of coldness. His pulse, though scarcely perceptible, gave upwards of a hundred pulsations a minute. Breathing short and difficult, frequently interrupted by prolonged sighs—violent nausea.

At five A. M. vomiting of glairous substances. During the night the patient took at intervals a little jelly, and a spoonful of wine mixed with water.

At seven A. M. he took a soup of vermicelli, and at nine he was a little better; his pulse was stronger, but now and then intermittent. Heat of the body at the natural temperature.

A dose of the decoction of bark, with a tincture of the same substance, appeared to abate the tendency to vomiting.

At ten A. M. the Emperor took some chocolate. The pulse became more regular, giving ninety pulsations per minute, but still weak and depressed. At one, vomiting as before.

At half past one the Emperor ordered the door of his apartment to be closed for every body except General Montholon and Marchand, who both remained with him until six o'clock. When I entered the room I found the carpet strewed with papers torn up; and observed that every thing was ticketed, and bore an address. Napoleon had made an inventory of all his effects, and assigned to each object a special destination. — "My preparations are "made, Doctor: I am going; it is all over with me." I was representing to him that there were still many chances in his favour, and that his case was not desperate: but he stopped me.—"No more illusion; I know the truth, "and am resigned."

At six P. M. the patient was seized with a violent convulsive agitation, which lasted two hours. Painful tension of the abdomen—deep pain in the liver. In the course of the evening he complained of extreme weakness, and appeared tired from having written too much. —Two enemas. Food light and varied.

16th.

The Emperor had passed a tolerably quiet night, although constantly covered with a cold and clammy perspiration; and though his sleep had been frequently interrupted by spasmodic contractions in the throat, accompanied by a violent sensation of suffocation.—Pulse irregular, weak, and depressed; and varying from eighty to one hundred pulsations per minute. Heat of the body below the natural temperature — colour cadaverous — skin damp and clammy. The illustrious patient continued still to take some food; but it was evident that the vital powers were fast declining.

At one o'clock P. M. the door of the Emperor's apartment was again closed to all

but General Montholon and Marchand, who remained with him until five o'clock. When I was again admitted, I found Napoleon exhausted, and manifested my uneasiness respecting the state in which he was.—"It proceeds," said he, "from having been a long while en-"gaged in business; I have written too much." Then placing his hand upon the right hypochondriac region, and upon the epigastric region,—"Ah! Doctor, what sufferings! what "oppression! I feel at the left extremity of the "stomach a pain that quite overpowers me."—Icy coldness at the lower extremities—general anxiety. In the course of the evening, however, there was a visible improvement; but he had taken rather too much food, and the digestion was extremely laborious. Breathing heavy and difficult—pulse, more and more irregular and depressed.—Enema. The patient passed the remainder of the evening in a state of agitation and somnolency which he could not overcome. I endeavoured to administer relief but he refused my assistance; I presented to him once more a medicine, but he pushed it from him, turning away his head, and said to me, "Doctor, you ought to marry; I must

arrange a marriage for you." — "For me, Sire?"—"Yes, you."—I remained silent, at a loss to conceive to what conclusion he was going to arrive. "You are too warm, too "quick; you want something to calm your "impetuosity. Marry, therefore, an English "woman; her iced blood will temper the fire "which animates you, and you will be less te- "nacious."—"My object, Sire, was to administer relief to your Majesty; I had no intention of doing any thing that might displease you."—"I know it, Doctor; and therefore "your patient will be henceforward more obe- "dient: give me the medicine." I handed it to him, and he took it and swallowed it at a single draught, saying, "When a man has been "guilty of irreverence towards Galen, it is thus "that the sin must be expiated."

17th.

The pulse had remained in the same state of depression, quickness, and irregularity, until half-past one in the morning, when a vomiting occurred, and the food the patient had taken was returned undigested. This occurred again in about an hour afterwards, with greater violence.

The remainder of the night passed in extreme agitation, general coldness, clammy perspiration, sensation of painful suffocation; sleep frequently interrupted; the weakness and irregularity of the pulse were gradually increasing, and at daybreak it became quite imperceptible; excessive atony.

At six o'clock A. M. the Emperor took the usual draught of decoction and tincture of bark. This medicine appeared to afford relief, and he was much better the remainder of the day; he ate more than usual, and got up twice.

I had observed that the Emperor was not so ill when the first passages were free; and I endeavoured to produce this effect by a few laxatives. He was tormented by thirst, but the use of syrups, and beverages made with liquorice, had produced disgust. He had not yet used lemonade nor orangeade; and as these preparations could not but be beneficial to him, I prescribed them: the difficulty was to procure lemons and oranges; those grown in the island being so acid and so bitter, that I hardly dared to use them. This, however, became a matter

of necessity, as I could not find any of those imported from the Cape. I picked out a few of the best, and cleaned them as well as I could, but all were so abominably bad that the Emperor thought he was poisoned. "Doctor! "what beverage is that? What a horrible "mixture!"—"It is lemonade, Sire."—"Le- "monade!" He remained silent a few minutes, and his head sunk upon his breast. "Exposed "to every insult, and to every privation! in "what hands I am fallen!"

I proposed the cathartic pills, but Napoleon refused to take them. His pulse had become more regular, and gave seventy-six pulsations per minute—heat of the body very nearly at the natural temperature. The patient ate a little hashed pheasant, and drank a spoonful of red wine in double that quantity of water. At eight P. M. he took the usual dose of decoction of bark, but it did not prevent the rejection in an hour afterwards of all the food he had eaten.

18th.

Extremely bad night—sensation of intolerable pain and heat in the abdomen—icy cold-

ness and clammy perspiration all over the body, —continual nausea and vomiting, which were prolonged until half-past four o'clock in the morning. The patient was low-spirited, and ascribed the state in which he was to the tonic draught he had taken the day before. Urine turbid—pulse low and irregular—heat of the body below the natural temperature—skin rather clammy. He took some food, which the stomach in part retained. He rose, went to bed again; rose once more, in a state of inquietude which he could not conquer. At five the pulse was still low and irregular: it gave from eighty to ninety pulsations per minute.

Two P. M.—Enema. I proposed to Napoleon some medicines which I thought useful. "No!" said he, with the tone of a man who has made up his mind: "England calls for my "corpse; I will not keep her waiting, and shall "die very well without drugs."

"He is not yet come to that," said Arnott to us. "Is he not?" said I: "in what state do you then conceive him to be? You diffuse hope amongst us; but what are your motives? State

your opinion; give me grounds for sharing it." I analyzed and recapitulated the symptoms of the disease; and the Doctor soon abandoned a conviction which he did not really entertain. We withdrew, and the conversation became serious and medical, relating chiefly to the nature of the disorder. Arnott spoke of scirrhosis, of hereditary affections. I observed to him, that Hudson was unquestionably the first gaoler in the world, but that his physiological conceptions required the sanction of time. He exclaimed against the imputation: I replied that it was a just one, and he did not insist. But Napoleon himself was incessantly talking of scirrhosis: he had the conviction that he was attacked with an affection of that kind! He confounded nature with the latitude, and ascribed to one what was due alone to the other. "The latitude is good, and the climate very healthy; we are as well here as we were in England."—"You, Doctor, in particular. But you are so used to sufferings, that you make light of illness: you consider eight or nine months in bed as a trifle; you are not so particular."—"It is true that I have paid my tribute to the latitude, and that I have even been exposed to severe

trials; but a particular case decides nothing."—"No; not even the particular case of that great number of soldiers who are lying in your hospitals?"—"Oh! they are exhausted by the fatigues of the service: day and night....."—"What! the climate....."—"No; upon my word, the climate has nothing to do with their case. The air is pure and temperate; we enjoy the plenitude of our powers: we should not be better in our own native country."—"Nor we neither?"—"I think not."—"But if we suffer ....."—"It is because it is your lot to suffer; the crisis you experience is one of those which situation neither remedies nor increases."—"And you think Napoleon in the same case?"—"Certainly: men live and die every where; their end must come, just as the hour must strike. We are like clocks that go during a given time, after which the pendulum stops, and neither air nor temperature can prolong its movement."—"No doubt! and no doubt also that to breathe an air that is alternately warm, cold, dry, and damp; to be exposed twenty times in the space of an hour to the most sudden transitions of temperature,—does not exhaust the vital powers!"—"You exaggerate; such is

not the case. There! see how fine the weather is."—"But how was it just now?"—"There was a slight shower, a cloud; but before that how calm! What pure air! it was the true tropical climate."—"And a little before that?"—"A few drops of rain; another slight shower."—"Yes; and then wind, fog, and all the variations of the atmosphere, in the course of the morning."—"You cite a solitary instance."—"Not at all; it is the usual state of the weather."—"No."—"Yes."—"I have made observations."—"Here are some also; let us reckon, and see whether it is without reason that you have thrown Napoleon upon this rock. *April*, two days and a half fine weather; *May*, two days; *June*, three days. You do not believe me? look at the statement, here it is:—

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

Made at LONGWOOD *during the years* 1816 *and* 1817.

Date.	Fahrenheit* at Noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
1816		
April 1	73°	Light rain.
2	72	Do.
3	73	Do.
4	72	Tolerably fair.
5	72	Rain.
6	72	Rain and fog.
7	70	Do. do.
8	70	Do. do.
9	71	Light rain.
10	68	Rain and fog.
11	70	Do. do.
12	66	Do. do.
13	69	Do. do.
14	68	Do. do.
15	70	Do. do.
16	70	Do. do.
17	66	Do. do.
18	68	Do. do.
19	69	Do. do.
20	70	Rain.
21	70	Do.
22	70	Do. and fog.
23	72	Do. P.M.
24	67	Do. and fog.
25	70	Fine weather.
26	70	Do.
27	69	Fine weather A.M.; light rain P.M.
28	68	Light rain.
29	66	Do. and high wind.
30	69	Much rain and do.

* 32° and 212° of Fahrenheit correspond with 0° and 80° of Reaumur:—thus, 68° Fahr.=16° Reaumur, &c.

"This is inconceivable! Two days and a half! only two days and a half! But, Sir, after all, it is not so strange; that month of April was every where rainy: *May*, I am sure, was drier."

Date.	Fahrenheit at Noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
1816.		
May 1	70	Light rain.
2	69	Do.
3	70	Very light rain.
4	68	Rain.
5	70	Do.
6	70	Do.
7	69	Do.
8	66	Do.
9	68	Do.
10	66	Do.
11	69	Do.
12	68	Do.
13	70	Very light rain.
14	68	Rain.
15	70	Do.
16	68	Do.
17	70	Light rain.
18	70	Rain.
19	68	Do.
20	66	Do.
21	70	Light rain.
22	72	Fine weather.
23	72	Light rain.
24	70	Do.
25	68	Do.
26	68	Fine weather.
27	68	Light rain.
28	65	Do.
29	65	Rain.
30	66	Do.
31	65	Do.

"Two days! only two days! Is that possible? Your observations are not exact; there is some mistake, I will answer for it."—"Perhaps you would have more confidence in the result of observations made by Mr. Jennings?"—"Unquestionably, the statements of that skilful meteorologist...."—"Are precisely the same as those I have just shewn you."—"The same as these!—"Precisely."—"It is hardly credible."—"It is rather unfortunate."—"So that we have no longer any fixed principle to guide us?"—"No, nor any subject for idyls after the Hudson fashion."—"Perhaps the following month, *June*, was more favourable?"

Date.	Morn.	Noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
	Fahr.	Fahr.	
June 1	...	64	Rain and fog.
2	...	64	Do.
3	...	64	Light rain.
4	...	64	Do.
5	...	64	Do.
6	...	63	Do.
7	...	63	A. M. light rain.
8	...	64	Light rain.
9	...	62	Rain and wind.
10	...	60	Rain, wind, and fog.
11	...	64	A. M. rain, wind, and fog.
12	60	62	Wind—generally speaking, fine weather.
13	60	62	Wind, rain.
14	...	64	Light rain.
15	...	64	Fine weather.
16	61	65	Alternations of rain and fine weather.

Date.	Morn.	Noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
	Fahr.	Fahr.	
June 17	60	64	Rain.
18	...	63	Do.
19	...	...	Fog and wind.
20	...	64	Rain and wind.
21	...	...	Do.
22	...	62	Rain, wind, and fog.
23	...	...	Wind, but fine weather.
24	61	64	Wind and fine weather.
25	...	...	Rain. P. M. rain and wind.
26	...	...	Rain and wind.
27	...	63	Do.
28	60	...	Light rain.
29	61	64	Do.—fog.
30	60	...	Do.—do.

"Worse still! your observations have not been correctly made. It would be impossible to live in such a state of the atmosphere; the strongest man would fall a prey to it."—"What! to the influence of the climate, without hereditary diseases?"—"The old story repeated over and over again; as if England had nothing to do but to count the drops of rain that fall here. The meteorological state of St. Helena . . ."—"Was known in England. Beatson had been studying it ever since 1811, and was in communication with the Admiralty, and in correspondence with the Royal Society; every thing was therefore

known, and it is upon that knowledge that the choice was made."—"How, Sir! you pretend ..."—"That the character of your aristocracy is perfectly moral; that its members do not pursue their enemies either by the sword or poison; that they administer air to them, and do deliberately what others do in moments of anger. To be five years discussing and accomplishing the death of one man is an instance of perseverance which makes one shudder, and such as your nation alone could give."

19th.

The night passed quietly; the patient did not experience any return of vomiting, and asked for some fried potatoes. He found himself better, ate more than the day before, and took with pleasure a vermicelli soup, which the stomach did not reject. Pulse weak and depressed, but regular, giving seventy-six pulsations per minute—heat of the body at the natural temperature—skin neither too damp nor too dry—expression of the features animated.

At two P. M. the Emperor rose and seated himself in his arm-chair; he was in good spirits,

finding himself much better than usual, and asked to be read to. Seeing that General Montholon rejoiced in that amelioration of health, and that I also, without however being able to assign any cause for it, as I did not entertain any more hope than before, gave way to the same feeling, he looked at us with a placid smile, and said: "My friends, you are not mistaken; I am "better to-day, but I feel, nevertheless, that "my end is approaching. After my death, "every one of you will have the consolation of "returning to Europe: some of you will see "their relations again, others their friends, and "I shall join my brave companions in the "Elysian Fields. Yes," added he, raising his voice, "Kleber, Dessaix, Bessières, Duroc, Ney, "Murat, Massena, Berthier, will all come to "meet me; they will speak to me of what we "have done together, and I will relate to them "the last events of my life. On seeing me "again they will all become once more mad "with enthusiasm and glory, and we will talk of "our wars with the Scipios, Hannibal, Cæsar, "Frederick. There will be pleasure in that,— "unless," added he, laughing, "it should create "an alarm in the next world to see so many

"warriors assembled together." At this moment Arnott came in; the Emperor stopped, received him in the most affable manner, spoke to him for some time, and asked him some very judicious questions respecting his disorder. He told the Doctor that he felt, each time he rose, a painful sensation and a violent heat in the stomach, which invariably produced nausea and vomiting: then suddenly abandoning the natural sequel of the conversation, he took a review of his present situation, and still addressing Doctor Arnott, but with a tone of greater animation and solemnity, "It is all over with me, Doctor," said he: "the blow is struck; I am near my end, "and shall soon surrender my body to the earth. "Bertrand! approach, and translate to this "gentleman what you are going to hear; it is "the relation of a series of indignities worthy of "the hand which has bestowed them; express "my full meaning; do not omit a single word.

"I had come to seek the hospitality of "the British people; I asked for a generous "protection, and to the subversion of every "right held sacred upon earth, chains were the "reply I received. I should have experienced

"a different reception from Alexander; the Em-
"peror Francis would have treated me with
"more respect and kindness; and even the
"King of Prussia would have been more ge-
"nerous. It was reserved for England to de-
"ceive and excite the Sovereigns of Europe,
"and give to the world the unheard-of spec-
"tacle of four great powers cruelly leagued
"together against one man. Your Ministers
"have chosen this horrible rock, upon which
"the lives of Europeans are exhausted in less
"than three years, in order to end my existence
"by * * * * * *. And how have I been treated
"since my arrival here? There is no species
"of indignity or insult that has not been ea-
"gerly heaped upon me. The simplest family
"communications, which have never been in-
"terdicted to any one, have been refused to me.
"No news, no papers from Europe, have been
"allowed to reach me; my wife and son have
"no longer existed for me; I have been kept
"six years in the tortures of close confinement.
"The most uninhabitable spot on this inhos-
"pitable island, that where the murderous
"effects of a tropical climate are most severely
"felt, has been assigned to me for a residence;

" and I, who used to ride on horseback all over " Europe, have been obliged to shut myself up " within four walls, in an unwholesome atmo- " sphere. I have been destroyed piecemeal by a " premeditated and protracted * * * * * *, and " the * * * * * * * Hudson has been the executer " of the high deeds and exploits of your Minis- " ters." The Emperor continued to speak for some time with the same warmth, and ended by these words: " You will end like the proud " republic of Venice; and I, dying upon this " dreary rock, away from those I hold dear, " and deprived of every thing, bequeath the " opprobrium and horror of my death to the " reigning family of England."

At about four P. M. the Emperor felt himself very ill; his strength failed him, and he sunk into a kind of fainting fit. He was, however, a little better towards evening, and at eight o'clock took some food without experiencing any vomiting; after which he slept until half-past eleven, when he suddenly woke, bathed in cold and clammy perspiration. The abdomen was distended, and he felt a violent heat in all the viscera contained in that ca-

vity; the throat was dry and burning, and the patient experienced a parching thirst; but he could not swallow any liquid without great difficulty, and manifested a kind of aversion to cold water. Pulse nervous, quick, and variable, giving eighty, ninety, and a hundred pulsations per minute.

20th.

The symptoms of the preceding day lasted until three o'clock in the morning, when the patient took some food and was a little better. Pulse still weak, but more regular than before, giving seventy-six pulsations per minute; heat of the body apparently at the natural temperature.—Enema. The patient was tolerably quiet during the evening, but complained, however, of a painful sensation and intolerable heat in the stomach, and of troublesome nausea. It was only by abstaining from the slightest motion that he could avoid vomiting. He asked to be read to, according to his custom, and fell asleep almost immediately. The reading was, however, continued, it being usual not to interrupt it without his order. He woke, and inquired what was the subject they were reading about, and being told it was about priests, and the

opposition he had met with from that class of men, whom the author of the work described as unquiet, full of hatred, and insensible to favours,—"That author raves," said he; "the "priests were the class of men that gave me "the least trouble. They were at first all "against me; I allowed them to wear violet-"coloured stockings, and from that moment "they were all for me.

21st.

The Emperor had scarcely slept at all, yet he was rather better than on the preceding day. At four o'clock he took some food, which did not occasion vomiting; and at daybreak he felt himself strong enough to get up and pass three hours, partly dictating and partly writing. This occupation did not at first incommode him, but towards nine o'clock vomiting took place, the patient rejected part of the food he had taken, and was very unwell the remainder of the day. At half-past one he sent for Vignali.—"Abbé," said he, "do you know "what a *chambre-ardente** is?"—"Yes, Sire."

* A room in which dead bodies lie in state.

—"Have you ever officiated in one?"—"Never, Sire."—"Well, you shall officiate in mine."—He then entered into the most minute detail on that subject, and gave the priest his instructions at considerable length. His face was animated and convulsive, and I was following with uneasiness the contraction of his features, when he observed in mine I know not what expression which displeased him.—"You are above "those weaknesses," said he, "but what is to "be done? I am neither a philosopher nor a "physician. I believe in God, and am of the "religion of my father. It is not every body "who *can* be an Atheist." Then turning again to the priest—"I was born a Catholic, and will "fulfil the duties prescribed by the Catholic "religion, and receive the assistance it administers. You will say mass every day in "the chapel, and will expose the holy sacrament during forty hours. After my death, "you will place your altar at my head in the "room in which I shall lie in state; you will "continue to say mass, and perform all the "customary ceremonies, and will not cease to "do so until I am under ground."

The Abbé withdrew, and I remained alone with Napoleon, who censured my supposed incredulity. "How can you carry it so far?" said he. "Can you not believe in God, whose "existence every thing proclaims, and in whom "the greatest minds have believed?"—"But, Sire, I have never doubted it. I was following the pulsations of the fever, and your Majesty thought you perceived in my features an expression which they had not."—"You are a "physician," replied he laughing, and then added, in an under-tone, "Those people have "only to do with matter; they never will be-"lieve any thing."

Half past three P. M.—Sensation of intolerable pain in the abdomen—heaviness in the head—general coldness—extreme prostration of strength—somnolency—pulse irregular and feverish, giving from seventy-five to eighty pulsations per minute—breathing difficult—oppression in the stomach—frequent and insipid ructations. At six o'clock these symptoms had gradually subsided, and the Emperor asked for some food, of which the stomach rejected

part at seven o'clock. He slept uninterruptedly the whole evening.

22d.

The patient had passed a good night, and the pulse was in the same state as the day before. At eight A.M. he was peevish and low-spirited, complaining of a violent pain in the stomach, accompanied by a sensation of suffocation. He tried to eat; but he soon experienced violent nausea, and rejected the food he had just taken, and at the same time part of that of the preceding day. He was, however, altogether better, and passed the day half awake and half asleep, without eating any thing.—Enema. The pulse had become weaker, and varied from eighty to ninety pulsations per minute. The patient consented to take the following draught:—

Magnesiæ Sulphatis ℥vj. Solve in aquæ puræ octa: Adde Infus. Gentianæ compositæ ℥vj, et Tinct. compositæ ejusdem ℥ss.

F. mixtura, cujus sumat cochlearia tria ampla subinde.

At about three P. M. vomiting of food mixed with glairous substances. In an hour afterwards the patient took some broth, an egg,

some sorrel, and after a short interval some pheasant dressed with peas. Exacerbation of fever near six o'clock: he thought he felt himself stronger than usual, and was extremely loquacious.—"You told me so, Doctor; it is "there; yes, it is there that the seat of the "disorder is. I feel it, the stomach is attacked; "but——" He lifted his eyes towards heaven, and remained silent. At half-past eight he wished to take some broth and a little jelly, both of which he rejected towards ten. He could not sleep during a great part of the night. Urine turbid, and depositing a sediment.

23d.

The Emperor did not sleep before two o'clock in the morning, and even then for a short time only, for he woke at three. The fever had decreased.—Extreme prostration of strength—incessant somnolency—heat of the body nearly at the natural temperature, and pulse varying from seventy-eight to eighty-four pulsations per minute.

At seven A. M. he took a vermicelli soup, with a little jelly. At eleven, an ounce of the

mixture ordered yesterday. At one P. M. he took a little food and a few spoonfuls of coffee, and ordered the door of his apartment to be closed for all except General Montholon and Marchand, with whom he remained shut up until half past five. He had written a great deal, and was tired; the whole frame appeared to feel the effects of so prolonged an occupation, and his agitation was extreme. In about an hour afterwards he experienced another crisis of fever, without, however, being much indisposed from it. He took the saline and bitter mixture of which we have already spoken.

[At seven P. M. he took a little food which his stomach did not retain, fell asleep, and slept the whole evening.

24th.

The Emperor had passed a good night, and was still asleep at seven o'clock. He woke in a state of extreme weakness. Heat of the body nearly at the natural temperature—pulse still a little feverish, varying from seventy-eight to eighty-two pulsations per minute. At half-past

seven he took a vermicelli soup, and fell asleep again. The fever was almost gone, but the prostration of strength was excessive, and the patient complained of that state of weakness and of the vertigoes it produced. At eleven o'clock he took a little claret, with three biscuits, and found himself better. At one the biscuits were rejected.

The Emperor again forbade all approach to his apartment, and remained closetted with General Montholon and Marchand until six o'clock. I then went into the room. "I have "written too much, Doctor; I am tired—com- "pletely exhausted." He was then seized with an exacerbation of fever, accompanied by giddiness, vertigoes, buzzing noise in the ears, pain and intolerable heat in all the viscera of the abdomen, difficult breathing, excessive loquaciousness.

Napoleon spoke of the different kinds of worship, of religious dissensions, and of the plan he had formed in order to reconcile all sects. Our reverses occurred too soon to allow him to carry that plan into execution; but he

had at least re-established religion, and that was a service the results of which were incalculable; for, after all, if men had no religion, they would murder each other for the best pear or the finest girl.

At eight o'clock he took a little rice and an egg, and at two some currant-jam, with a few Bengal biscuits. Between ten and eleven P. M. all the food he had taken in the course of the day was rejected, and the patient remained in a state of extreme agitation which prevented him from sleeping a single instant.

25th.

The Emperor had not slept the whole night, and was incessantly talking; sometimes deliriously. The fever continued with the same degree of intensity.

At about four A. M. vomiting of a black colour of thick pituitous and filaceous matters, mixed with undigested alimentary substances, and black clotted blood in a state of putridity. At daybreak he slept for a few moments.

At about eight A. M. vomiting of the same description as the preceding; but the substances were blacker, and contained particles of clotted venous blood, which seemed to indicate some organic injury of the stomach, and from them oozed an acrid kind of watery liquid, of a fetid and nauseous odour. The fever frequently passed from one extreme to the other. The feet remained of an icy coldness, notwithstanding the care with which they were warmed; and the patient experienced returns of vomiting of the same matters as before described. The alimentary substances became darker, and the liquid parts thicker. The alvine evacuations also contained a considerable quantity of black bile.

At about six P. M. the patient took three spoonfuls of the saline and bitter mixture, and two hours afterwards a soup. He was better; and having some medicines to prepare, I took advantage of that moment and went into the laboratory. As soon as the Emperor was alone, I know not what cruel fancy crossed his mind, but he ordered fruits and wine to be brought to him: he took a biscuit, drank

some champaign, asked for a plum, seized a bunch of grapes, and began to laugh heartily as soon as he perceived me. I took every thing away, and scolded the servant; but the harm was done: the fever returned, and became most violent.

26th.

The Emperor passed a night of extreme agitation, spoke a great deal, and was in a delirium, which lasted until midnight. At two A. M. the whole of the food he had taken in the evening was rejected. At daybreak he found himself a little better, and fell asleep. He was awakened at eight by a fit of vomiting, which afforded him relief. The pulse varied from seventy-eight to eighty-six pulsations per minute, and the heat of the body was below the natural temperature.

The Grand Marshal sent for me: when I went to him, he announced to me that the Emperor had desired him to say he had not included me in his will, but that his intention was to leave me *two hundred thousand francs.*

Napoleon was now on his death-bed, and expressed the greatest kindness towards me

"What do you think I should give to the "English physician, for the visits he has paid "me in conjunction with yourself?"—"I could not presume to assign limits to the munificence of your Majesty."—"Do you "think five hundred Louis enough?"—"Yes, Sire; I believe it is."—"Well! I leave him "twelve thousand francs, and to you I leave "a hundred thousand...." I requested him not to trouble himself about such melancholy arrangements, and he resumed: "Would you "be glad to be in the service of Maria Louisa— "to be attached to her as her surgeon, as you "now are attached to me?"—"If I were to lose your Majesty, that would be the object of all my ambition."—"She is my wife, and the "greatest princess of Europe, and the only "one you can henceforth serve."—"I will never serve any other."—"Very well, I shall "write to the Empress: I hope you will be "satisfied with what I shall do for you."

The fever lasted the whole day, with continued alternations of improvement and relapses. The patient experienced a parching thirst, icy

coldness in the feet, vague pains in the abdomen, nausea, and vomiting of the same nature as already described. Towards evening he took a little food; and although very weak, wrote for nearly three hours. He settled and sealed the codicils to his will, and went to bed again.

27th.

The Emperor had passed a night of considerable agitation, and had been unable to repose a single instant until daybreak, when he slept a little.

At eight A. M. vomiting of a considerable quantity of glairous matters, mixed with a black watery fluid of a very acrid and pungent smell. Pulse extremely weak, but continuing, however, to give between seventy-two and eighty-four pulsations per minute. Heat of the body nearly of the natural temperature. The patient was free from pain, and refused every kind of medicine, even the use of an enema. I proposed the application of a blister on the epigastric region, which he opposed; and only reluctantly consented, at last, to the application of a stimulant aromatic plaster of the Dublin Phar-

macopœia. In an hour afterwards the patient took a little soup: the fever continued during the remainder of the day; his strength was declining more and more; the vomiting became of more frequent occurrence, and only consisted of thick pituitous matters, mixed with a kind of corrupted substance, having, as it were, the consistency of paste, and with a black, acrid, and watery substance, in which there floated some particles resembling chocolate dissolved in water.

At about three P. M. he endeavoured to write; but his strength was gone, and he could only trace a few lines of the eighth codicil to his will, proposing to finish it the next day. Complete and general atony: death had already seized him; he was fast hastening to his grave.

Between five and six o'clock he took a little food, which rested on his stomach.

At seven P. M. Napoleon at last made up his mind to leave the small, inconvenient, and ill-ventilated room which he then occupied, to go and settle in the drawing-room. We were

preparing to carry him: "No," said he, "you "may do that when I am dead; for the present "it will be sufficient that you support me."

28th.

The Emperor had passed a very bad night, and had several vomitings of the nature already described. Pulse extremely weak, varying from eighty-four to ninety pulsations per minute. Heat of the body much below the natural temperature.

Six A. M.—Vomiting similar to the preceding. The fever increased; the icy coldness became universal; strength in the last stage of prostration. In about an hour afterwards the patient took a soup, an egg, and a biscuit dipped in a little red wine.

Eight A. M.—The Emperor spoke to me with the greatest kindness, and with the most perfect calmness and composure, gave me the following instructions:—"After my death, "which cannot be far distant, I desire that you "will open my body. I desire also, and insist, "that you will promise that no English medi- "cal men shall touch me. If, however, the as-

"sistance of one should be indispensably neces-
"sary, Doctor Arnott is the only one whom
"you have permission to employ. I further
"desire, that you will take my heart, put it in
"spirits of wine, and carry it to Parma to my
"dear Maria Louisa. You will tell her that I
"tenderly loved her—that I never ceased to love
"her; and you will relate to her all you have
"seen, and every particular respecting my si-
"tuation and my death. I particularly recom-
"mend to you carefully to examine my sto-
"mach, and to make a precise and detailed report
"of the state in which you may find it, which
"report you will give to my son .... The vo-
"mitings which succeed each other, almost
"without interruption, lead me to suppose that
"the stomach is, of all my organs, the most
"diseased; and I am inclined to believe that it
"is attacked with the same disorder which
"killed my father; I mean a scirrhosis in the
"pylorus .... What is your opinion?" I he-
sitated to reply, and he continued: "I began to
"suspect that such was the case as soon as I
"saw the frequency and obstinate recurrence of
"the vomitings. It is, however, worthy of re-
"mark, that my stomach has always been re-
"markably strong; that it is only lately that

"I have suffered from it; and that, whilst my "father was very fond of highly-flavoured food "and spirituous liquors, I have never been able "to take any thing of the kind: be that as it "may, I beg you will be very particular in your "examination, in order that when you see my "son you may be able to communicate your "observations to him, and point out to him the "most proper medicines to use .... When I "am no more, you will go to Rome; you will "see my mother and my family, and will relate "to them all you may have observed concerning "my situation, my disorder, and my death "upon this dreary and miserable rock. You "will tell them that the great Napoleon ex-"pired in the most deplorable state, deprived "of every thing, abandoned to himself and to "his glory, and that he bequeathed with his "dying breath, to all the reigning families of "Europe, the horror and opprobrium of his last "moments."

At ten o'clock in the morning the fever ceased suddenly, and the patient sunk into a state of complete exhaustion. He continued to talk a great deal; but the sentences he ut-

tered were broken and incoherent. At noon he took some food, which did not at first appear to incommode his stomach; but a few hours afterwards all the alimentary substances were rejected, mixed with thick, black, glairous matter, containing some particles of coagulated putrid blood. He was, however, better.

Between five and six P. M. the patient was very much agitated, and made several attempts to finish the eighth codicil to his will; but he could not write, nor even sit upright.

29th.

The Emperor passed a very bad night; he scarcely took any food, and could not sleep a single instant. He was perpetually talking, raved greatly, and in his delirium distributed a thousand things without choice or discrimination: the intensity of the fever had, however, diminished. Towards morning he was seized with a violent singultus, and he brought up all the food he had taken, mixed with a considerable quantity of glairous matters, and a black and acrid fluid. The fever increased, and the delirium returned; during which Na-

poleon spoke of stomachs, scirrhosis, and pylorus, calling upon Baxter to appear and judge of the truth of his bulletins. Then, suddenly bringing forward O'Meara, he established between him and Baxter, a dialogue, the tenor of which was overwhelming for English policy. The fever again diminished, the hearing became distinct, and the patient was calm: he again spoke of the scirrhosis of his father, and related, that after the body had been opened, the physicians of Montpellier prognosticated that the disorder would be hereditary, and pass to every member of the family.—"Doctor, I recommend to you once more to "examine my pylorus with the greatest care: "write down your observations and deliver "them to my son; I wish at least to preserve "him from that disease."

Seven A. M.—The patient fell asleep, and reposed quietly until eleven o'clock. At twelve he took a spoonful of vermicelli soup, an egg, and a little red wine.—Pulse varying from ninety-seven to ninety-eight pulsations per minute. Heat of the body considerably above the natural temperature.

One P. M.—The plaster I had applied to the epigastric region having produced but little effect, I requested the Emperor to allow me to substitute a blister.—"Since you wish it," said he, "be it so; not that I expect the least "effect from it; but my end is approaching, "and I am desirous of showing, by my resig- "nation, my gratitude for your care and at- "tentions: apply therefore the blister." This I did, but unfortunately nature was exhausted; the blister remained twenty-one hours without acting.

Napoleon was free from vomiting, and drank a great deal of cold water. "If fate had de- "creed that I should recover, I would erect a "monument on the spot where the water flows, "and would crown the fountain in testimony "of the relief it has afforded me. If I die, and "my body, proscribed as my person has been, "should be denied a little earth, I desire that "my remains may be deposited in the cathe- "dral of Ajaccio in Corsica; and if it should "not be permitted to me to rest where I was "born, let me be buried near the limpid stream

" of this pure water." I proposed to him the following prescription :

℞ Aquæ Menthæ viridis, ℥ j.
Potassæ Subcarbonatis, ℈ j.
Succi Lim. recentis, q. s. ad saturand.
Tincturæ Calumbæ, minim. xxx.
Idem Opii, minim. v.
Misce, ut fiat haustus sextâ-quâque horâ sumendus.

But he would not take it. I vainly endeavoured to triumph over his repugnance ; he refused even food, and reposed the remainder of the day.

At nine P. M. I applied two blisters on the thighs.

30th.

The Emperor slept a little during the night. He had twice a return of vomiting of the nature already described ; and the fever went on increasing until daybreak, when it lost part of its intensity.

Nine A. M. — The patient was almost free from fever, and tolerably quiet.—Pulse weak and depressed, varying from eighty-four to ninety-one pulsations per minute.—heat of the

body below the natural temperature — skin damp and clammy—breathing easy. The blisters applied to the thighs had not produced any effect; and that on the epigastric region did not cause any pain to the patient, who was not conscious that he had it. In the course of the morning the vomiting recurred several times. Napoleon was gloomy and low-spirited, but in full possession of all his presence of mind. At noon he took a few spoonfuls of vermicelli and an egg. He experienced a burning heat in the throat, and an attack of hiccough, which lasted two hours.

At one P. M. enema without effect. I vainly endeavoured to induce the Emperor to take some internal medicine: he obstinately refused. Somnolency.—The hiccough still continued.

At three the fever increased, and it was only towards evening that it began to lose a little of its intensity. The patient refused to take any food.

Between nine and ten the fever again increased. General agitation—anxiety—hiccough—

—breathing deep and difficult—oppression of the abdomen—spasmodic rising of the epigastric region, and the stomach, accompanied by a sensation of suffocation—abundant salivation —icy coldness all over the body. The pulse became imperceptible from time to time; but rallied again a little towards half-past eleven at night.

1st May.

Pulse low and frequent, giving as many as a hundred pulsations per minute. Heat below the natural temperature—skin damp and clammy—vomiting of glairous matters, mixed with the dark and acrid fluid already mentioned. The Emperor fell asleep towards daybreak; but was soon awakened again by vomiting, and was in a dreadful state. By degrees, however, these unfavourable symptoms decreased, the oppression diminished, and the morning passed quietly. The pulse assumed a greater degree of energy, and gave from seventy-five to eighty pulsations per minute; still preserving, however, its irregularity. Heat of the body above the natural temperature—skin still damp and clammy. Suddenly the pulse relapsed into its former state, and gave one hundred pulsations, but so

weak that they were scarcely perceptible. At noon the hiccough was more violent than it had yet been. General anxiety—dyspnœa* spasmodic rising of the stomach and epigastric region—abdominal oppression. The patient was delirious, and spoke incoherently. The symptoms increased in intensity until towards the middle of the night. The Emperor had taken, during the whole day, only two biscuits and a little red wine.

2d.

Napoleon was quieter, and the alarming symptoms diminished a little. At two A. M. paroxysm of fever, accompanied by delirium. Napoleon spoke incessantly of France, of his son, of his companions in arms: "Steingel, Des-"saix, Massena! Ah! victory is declaring: run, "hasten, press the charge; they are ours!" I was listening, and following the progress of that painful agony in the deepest distress and affliction, when Napoleon, suddenly collecting his strength, jumped on the floor, and would absolutely go down into the garden to take a walk. I ran to receive him in my arms, but his legs

* Difficulty of breathing.

bent under the weight of his body—he fell backward, and I had the mortification of being unable to prevent his falling. We raised him up, and entreated him to get into bed again; but he did not recognize any body, and began to storm, and fell into a violent passion. His head was gone, and he continued to ask to go and walk in the garden. His strength was at last exhausted, and his pulse in the last stage of weakness, giving as many as one hundred and eight pulsations per minute. Heat of the body much above the natural temperature—general agitation—frequent nausea—anxiety.

At nine A. M. the fever decreased, and the Emperor gave me some instructions, to which he added these words: "Recollect what I have "directed you to do after my death. Proceed "very carefully to the anatomical examination "of my body, and particularly of the stomach. "The physicians of Montpellier had announced "that the scirrhosis in the pylorus would be "hereditary in my family: their report is, I "believe, in the hands of Louis; ask for it, and "compare it with your own observations, in "order that I may save my son from that cruel

"disease. You will see him, Doctor; and you "will point out to him what is best to be done, "and will save him from the cruel sufferings I "now experience: this is the last service I ask "of you." I was anxious to render this service; and I had at one time the hope of being able to do so. The practitioner with whom the report was deposited had offered to shew it to me; but it turned out the next day that he had been mistaken the day before; that he no longer had that report in his possession, but that he had mislaid it. I was therefore unable to make the comparison which Napoleon wished.

At noon an exacerbation again occurred. The patient recovered the use of his faculties, looked at me for a few moments, heaved a deep sigh, and said; "Doctor, I am very ill; I feel "that I am going to die:" and he again became insensible. Sleep interrupted—frequent hiccough of an alarming nature—breathing irregular and difficult—oppression of the abdomen—spasmodic rising of the epigastric region and stomach—glairous vomiting—convulsive smile slightly defined—spasmodic and forward motion of the two lips. I administered an

anodyne draught, composed of a little orange-flower water, and a few drops of tincture of opium and ether. It had the effect of calming the patient for a few minutes: he came to himself again, and thought himself able to complete his last dispositions; but none of his limbs any longer obeyed the impulse of his will: his weakness was too great—he could not succeed in the attempt. Towards one o'clock he took two biscuits in some red wine diluted with water.

His end was now approaching; we were going to lose him, and every body redoubled his zeal and attention, anxious to give him a last mark of devotedness. His officers, Marchand, Saint-Denis, and myself, had exclusively taken upon ourselves the duty of sitting up at night; but Napoleon could not bear the light, and we were obliged to lift him up, and to administer all the cares his state required, in the midst of a profound obscurity. Anxiety had added to our fatigue; the Grand Marshal was exhausted; General Montholon was equally so, —and I was not much better; we therefore yielded to the pressing solicitations of the Frenchmen who inhabited Longwood, and gave

them a share in the melancholy duties we had to perform. Pieron, Coursot—every one, in short, sat up conjointly with some one of us. The zeal and solicitude they manifested sensibly affected the Emperor, who recommended them to his officers, enjoining that they might be assisted and taken care of. "And my poor "Chinese," said he, "do not let them be for- "gotten neither; let them have a few scores of "Napoleons: I must take leave of them also."

3rd.

The patient had passed a better night than usual. The alarming symptoms of the preceding day had diminished, and he reposed a few moments. Towards morning the fever increased. General agitation—anxiety—delirium.

At seven A. M. the fever lost a little of its intensity. Great prostration of strength—deep sighs—anxiety. At about nine, the Emperor took, with pleasure, two biscuits, a little wine, and the yolk of an egg; but the prostration of strength still continued to increase. Somnolency—hiccough—frequent nausea—vomiting, of the same nature as the preceding. I adminis-

tered a few spoonfuls of the usual anodyne draught.

Hudson, suddenly taken by a fit of humanity, imagined that cow's milk might assuage Napoleon's cruel agony, and offered some. Doctor Arnott, admiring the inspiration of his chief, wished to try the effect it would produce; but I opposed this trial with all my might, upon the ground that milk is naturally heavy, and indigestible; that the Emperor's stomach constantly rejected the mildest, slightest, and most digestible substances; that even when in good health he had never been able to bear any kind of milk; that he had, each time he had taken any, experienced a derangement more or less serious in the digestive organs, and that the *soupe à la reine** had always acted upon him as a purgative. Doctor Arnott was not at first convinced by these arguments, which I strenuously maintained, and we had a very warm discussion on the subject: ultimately, however, I succeeded in preventing milk from being given to the dying Emperor.

* A beverage composed of milk, eggs, and sugar.

At noon, aggravation of the symptoms, which became more and more alarming. The fever and the icy coldness of the lower extremities increased, and the patient was a prey to general anxiety.—Fatiguing hiccough—difficulty of breathing—violent oppression of the stomach —the colour of the skin changed—the pulse scarcely perceptible, and at times intermittent, giving as many as a hundred and ten pulsations per minute—the heat of the body very much below the natural temperature. Napoleon drank copiously of orange-flower water, mixed with common water and sugar. He found relief from that beverage, and preferred it to every other.

At two P. M. the fever diminished. We withdrew; Vignali alone remained, and having joined us again a few moments afterwards, in the next room, he informed us that he had administered the viaticum to the Emperor.

Three P. M.—The fever returned with increased violence. General anxiety—oppression and spasms in the epigastric region and the sto-

mach—violent and almost incessant hiccough—face hippocratic.

Napoleon still preserved his presence of mind, and recommended to his executors, in case he should lose it, not to allow any other English physicians to approach him than Doctor Arnott. "I am going to die," said he; "and you to re-"turn to Europe: I must give you some advice "as to the line of conduct you are to pursue. "You have shared my exile; you will be faithful "to my memory, and will not do any thing that "may injure it. I have sanctioned all princi-"ples, and infused them into my laws and acts: "I have not omitted a single one. Unfortu-"nately, however, the circumstances in which "I was placed were arduous, and I was obliged "to act with severity and to postpone the exe-"cution of my plans. Our reverses occurred: "I could not unbend the bow; and France has "been deprived of the liberal institutions I "intended to give her. She judges me with "indulgence: she feels grateful for my inten-"tions; she cherishes my name and my vic-"tories. Imitate her example; be faithful to

A convulsive derangement, and peculiar expression assumed by the features at the approach of death.

" the opinions we have defended, and to the " glory we have acquired; any other course " can only lead to shame and confusion."

An order from the Governor directed us to hold a consultation with Doctors Shortt and Mitchell. They came to my apartment, and I explained to them the symptoms of the disorder; but they were not satisfied with this explanation, and wished to ascertain by their own observation, the state in which Napoleon was. I, however, assured them that every attempt of that kind would be useless. They then coincided in opinion with Doctor Arnott, who proposed a purgative medicine composed of ten grains of calomel. I exclaimed against such a prescription; knowing that the patient was too weak, and that it would be fatiguing him to no purpose: but I was alone against three; the measure was carried by numbers, and the ten grains of calomel were accordingly administered at six P. M.

At seven the Emperor took a few spoonfuls of *sabaillon*,* but he could not swallow them

* White wine and sugar.

without water. State of calmness frequently interrupted. The hiccough began again with violence.

Ten P. M.—The ten grains of calomel not having produced any effect, a deliberation took place as to whether another dose should be administered; but this time I broke through all ceremony, and peremptorily opposed their determination.

Between eleven and twelve P. M. abundant evacuation of matters, having the consistency, and colour of pitch.—Complete collapse—anxiety—violent dyspnœa—cold perspiration—coldness of the lower extremities—borborygmi.—The patient drank frequently of orange-flower water, with common water and sugar.

4th.

The same symptoms continued the whole night. The Emperor only took a small quantity of orange-flower water, and at distant intervals. The weather was horrible; the rain fell without interruption, and the wind threatened to

destroy every thing. The willow* under which Napoleon usually sat to enjoy the fresh air had yielded to the tempest; our plantations were torn up by the roots, and lay scattered about: a single gum-tree still resisted, when a whirlwind seized it, tore it up, and laid it prostrate in the mud. It seemed as if none of the things the Emperor had valued were to survive him.

Between seven and eight, five successive abundant evacuations occurred of the same nature as the last observed upon. The patient was in a state of complete exhaustion, which increased every moment.—Violent and incessant hiccough. The patient refused to take any internal medicine, and it was even scarcely possible to induce him to take a little cold broth of the consistence of jelly. A little later he drank a large quantity of orange-flower water, mixed with common water and sugar, and complained of violent colic. Incessant hiccough—convulsive smile—eyes fixed—pupils raised so as to expose the inferior part of the ocular globe—

* This species is known at St. Helena under the name of *Botany Bay*.

upper eyelids depressed — face hippocratic — oppression — spasms in the epigastric region and the stomach.

The alvine evacuations again occurred three times, but the patient was not conscious of them; he seemed totally deprived of all sensation. Towards evening the intensity of the fever increased.—Abundant salivation — continual expuition of black and viscous matters.

5th.

The patient passed a night of extreme agitation.—General anxiety—breathing difficult, sometimes accompanied by a snoring noise—frequent hiccough — continual spasms in the epigastric region and the stomach—eructations giving issue to dark, acrid, nauseous liquid matters—constant expuition and vomiting of the same matters.

The clock struck half-past five, and Napoleon was still delirious, speaking with difficulty, and uttering words broken and inarticulate; amongst others, we heard the words, "Head ... "army," and these were the last he pronounced;

for they had no sooner passed his lips than he lost the power of speech.—Violent pains in the abdomen—last stage of dyspnœa—body cold and convulsed, covered with clammy perspiration—trismus.*—The pulsations were scarcely felt in the carotid and axillary arteries. "I thought the vital spark had fled, but by degrees the pulse rallied, the oppression decreased, deep sighs escaped from his breast. Napoleon was still alive."

And now occurred the most affecting, perhaps, of all the scenes that had taken place during the Emperor's long agony.—Madame Bertrand, who would not quit the bedside of the august patient, notwithstanding her own sufferings, sent first for her daughter Hortense, and afterwards for her three sons, to shew them their benefactor for the last time. No words can express the emotion of these poor children on witnessing this spectacle of death. They had not seen Napoleon for about fifty days, and their eyes full of tears sought, with terror, upon his face, now pale and disfigured, the expression of greatness and goodness which they were accustomed

* Convulsive closing of the jaw.

to find in it. As if by common accord, they rushed towards the bed, seized the hands of the Emperor, kissed them, and, sobbing aloud, covered them with tears. Young Napoleon Bertrand could no longer bear this heart-rending scene; overcome by his emotion, he fell back and fainted. We were obliged to tear these youthful mourners in the midst of their grief from the Emperor's bedside, and to take them into the garden. No doubt the recollection of this scene is for ever engraven on their hearts, and their tears will flow more than once, when they recollect that they have contemplated the body of Napoleon at the moment when his great soul was on the point of leaving it: the impression also produced upon us all, on witnessing the moving adieu of these children to their august protector, is beyond the power of words to express: we all mixed our lamentations with theirs; we all felt the same anguish, the same cruel foreboding of the approach of the fatal instant, which every minute accelerated.

Ten A. M.—Pulse annihilated. I was following with anxiety its beatings, endeavouring to ascertain whether the vital principle was ex-

tinct, when I saw Noverraz enter the room, pale, his hair in disorder, and in the utmost agitation. The poor fellow, weakened by forty-eight days' sufferings of an acute hepatitis, accompanied by synocha,* was scarcely beginning to be convalescent; but having heard of the dangerous state in which the Emperor was, he had caused himself to be brought down, and entered the apartment bathed in tears, to see once more a master whom he had served so many years. I endeavoured to prevail upon him to withdraw, but his emotion increased as I spoke to him: he fancied that the Emperor was threatened, and was calling him to his assistance; and he would not leave him, but would fight and die for him. He was quite light-headed: I flattered his zeal, succeeded in calming him, and returned to the patient.

Eleven A. M.—Borborygmi—swelling and tension of the abdomen—icy coldness of the lower extremities, and, in a short time, of the whole body—eye fixed—lips closed and contracted—violent agitation of the nostrils—most

* Inflammatory fever.

complete adynamia*—pulse extremely weak and intermittent, varying from one hundred and two to one hundred and eight, one hundred and ten, and one hundred and twelve pulsations per minute—breathing slow, intermittent, and stertorous—spasmodic contraction of the epigastric region and of the stomach—deep sighs—piteous moans—convulsive movements, which ended by a loud and dismal shriek. I placed a blister on the chest, and one on each thigh; applied two large sinapisms on the soles of the feet, and fomentations on the abdomen, with a bottle filled with hot water; I also endeavoured to refresh the Emperor's lips and mouth by constantly moistening them with a mixture of common water, orange-flower water, and sugar; but the passage was spasmodically closed; nothing was swallowed: all was in vain. The intermittent breathing and mournful sound still continued, accompanied by a violent agitation of the abdominal muscles; the eyelids remained fixed, the eyes moved and fell back under the upper lids; the pulse sunk and rallied again.—It was eleven minutes before

six o'clock—Napoleon was about to breathe his last!—a slight froth covered his lips—he was no more!—Such is the end of all human glory!

All immediately dispersed, and nothing was heard but tears and lamentations; the cruel loss we had sustained had plunged every one in the deepest affliction. Before we could recover from the kind of stupor produced by the first shock of our grief, two Englishmen, taking advantage of the opportunity, slipped in amongst us, entered the drawing-room, uncovered and touched the body of the Emperor, and withdrew as they had come. This act of profanation restored us to our senses; we returned into the room where the corpse lay, in order to watch over it: it was not to be polluted by English hands.

After the Emperor had been dead six hours, I caused him to be shaved, and had the body washed and placed on another bed. The executors, on their side, had taken cognizance of two codicils, which were to be opened immediately after the Emperor's decease. One of these codicils was relative to the gratifications

which he granted upon his privy purse to all the persons composing his household, and to the alms, which he ordered to be distributed to the poor of St. Helena; the other contained instructions as to his funeral, and was thus worded:—

"16th April, 1821.—Longwood.

"*This is a Codicil to my Will.*

"1. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I loved so well.

"2. I leave to Counts Bertrand and Montholon, and to Marchand, the money, jewels, plate, china, furniture, books, arms, and generally every thing belonging to me in the Island of St. Helena.

"This Codicil, entirely written with my own hand, is signed by me and sealed with my arms.

(L. S.) NAPOLEON."

The executors communicated the contents of

this document to the Governor, who exclaimed against the pretension expressed in it, declaring that a compliance with it was inadmissible, and that he entirely opposed it. The body was to remain in the island: England was anxious to keep it, and would not let it go. We endeavoured to appeal from this decree, dictated by hatred: representations, entreaties, were all tried without effect; "the body of Napoleon was to remain at St. Helena, and there it should remain." The executors invoked humanity, and the respect due to the dead, but right vanishes before might, and all that could be done was to adopt the resource of the weak—to protest and obey. This course was pursued, and a spot which the Emperor, although he had only seen it once, continually spoke of with satisfaction, was chosen to receive his remains. It was near the spring whose waters had so often allayed his cruel sufferings. Hudson assented to this choice. He had held since the year 1820 the order to retain the body of *Bonaparte*, but it was indifferent *to him* in what part of the island it was buried. This point settled, he immediately mounted his horse and

proceeded to Longwood, at the head of his staff, the members of his council, General Coffin, Rear Admiral Lambert, the Marquis de Montchenu, and all the physicians and surgeons of the island. He wished to be assured by his own inspection that the Emperor was really dead—that the corpse before him was really that of Napoleon. He also wished that the body might be immediately opened; but I observed to him that it was too soon after death, and he did not insist.—"You have asked me for some plaster to mould the face of the deceased," said he, "one of my surgeons is very skilful in that kind of operation, he will assist you."—I thanked his Excellency; but the operation was so easy that I wanted no assistance. What I really wanted was plaster; for Madame Bertrand, notwithstanding her repeated requests, had only yet received a kind of lime, and I was at a loss what to do, when Dr. Burton pointed out a spot on the coast where gypsum was to be found. The Admiral immediately gave orders for a boat to put out to sea, and in a few hours afterwards some fragments were brought and calcined. Having obtained

some plaster I moulded the face, and proceeded to the autopsy * of the corpse.

The executors, Generals Bertrand and Montholon, and Marchand, were present at this affecting operation; which was also witnessed by Sir Thomas Reade, a few staff-officers, and Drs. Thomas Shortt, Arnott, Charles Mitchell, Matthew Livingstone, surgeon in the service of the East India Company, and some other medical men, together eight in number, whom I had invited.

Napoleon had destined his hair to be distributed amongst the different members of his family; and whilst his head was being shaved, I verified some observations I had already made, and the principal of which were as follow:—

1. The Emperor had grown considerably thinner since my arrival at St. Helena: his

* Ocular demonstration; applied by extension by Galen to the examination and description of the different parts of a body on dissection.

bulk was not a fourth part of what it had been.

2. The face and body were pale, but free from alteration or a cadaverous aspect. The expression of the features was fine; the eyes were closed; and it might have been thought, not that the Emperor was dead, but that he was reposing in profound sleep. His mouth preserved a smiling expression, with the exception of a slight contraction of the left side, caused by the convulsive smile observed in his last moments.

3. The body exhibited the wound occasioned by an issue in the left arm, and several scars; viz.—one on the head; three on the left leg, one of which was on the *malleolus externus**; one at the extremity of the *digitus annularis*† of the left hand, and several in the left thigh.

4. The entire height of the body from the top of the head to the heels was five feet two inches and four lines‡.

* Part of the ancle. † The ring or fourth finger.

‡ French measure; equal to five feet six inches and

5. The extent from the extremity of the middle finger of one hand to that of the other was five feet two inches.

6. From the *symphysis* of the *os pubis* to the top of the head, the length was two feet seven inches and four lines.

7. From the *os pubis* to the *calcaneum**, the length was two feet seven inches.

8. The length from the top of the head to the chin was seven inches and six lines.

9. The circumference of the head was twenty inches and ten lines. The forehead was high, the temples slightly depressed, the *sinciput*† wide and very strongly defined.

10. Hair thin, and of a light chestnut colour

twentytwo-fortyfifths of an inch, the French foot being greater than the English in the proportion of sixteen to fifteen.

* Heel. † The fore-part of the skull.

11. Neck rather short, but tolerably well proportioned.

12. Chest wide and well formed.

13. Abdomen considerably swelled and voluminous.

14. Hands and feet rather small.

15. Limbs stiff and extended.

16. All the other parts of the body were nearly in the ordinary proportions.

I felt a curiosity to examine the head of this great man, according to the craniological system of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim: the following are the signs which were most apparent on it:—

1. Organ of dissimulation.

2. Organ of conquests.

3. Organ of kindness and benevolence.

4. Organ of imagination.

5. Organ of ambition and love of glory.

Of the class of intellectual faculties, I found:

1. The organ of individuality, or knowledge of individuals and things.

2. The organ of locality—of the relation of space.

3. The organ of calculation.

4. The organ of comparison.

5. The organ of causality—of the faculty of induction—of a philosophical head.

The corpse had now been lying more than twenty hours; and I therefore proceeded to the autopsy.

I first opened the chest, and the most remarkable appearances it exhibited were the following:—

The cartilages of the ribs were for the most part ossified.

The sac formed by the costal *pleura** of the left side contained about a glass of fluid of a citrine colour.

A slight coat of coagulable lymph covered part of the surfaces of the costal and pulmonary *pleuræ* corresponding to the same side.

The left lung was slightly compressed by the effusion, and adhered by numerous bridles to the posterior and lateral parts of the chest, and to the *pericardium*†. I carefully dissected it, and found the superior lobe covered with *tuberculæ*‡ and some small tuberculous excavations.

A slight coat of coagulable lymph covered part of the surfaces of the costal and pulmonary *pleuræ* corresponding to that side.

The sac of the costal *pleura* on the right side contained about two glasses of fluid of a citrine colour.

* A membrane which lines the internal surface of the thorax or chest, and covers its viscera.

† A membranous bag that surrounds the heart.

‡ Small tumours.

The right lung was slightly compressed by effusion, but its *parenchyma*,* was in a healthy state. Both lungs were, generally speaking, firm *(crepitans)*, and of their natural colour. The mucous membrane of the *trachea-arteria*† and of the *bronchiæ*‡ was tolerably red, and lined with a rather considerable quantity of pituitous matter, thick and viscous.

Many of the ganglions§ of the *bronchiæ*, and of the *mediastinum*‖, were rather enlarged, almost degenerated, and in a state of suppuration.

The *pericardium* was in a healthy state, and contained about an ounce of fluid of a citrine colour. The heart, which was rather larger than the fist of the subject, exhibited, though sound, a rather abundant proportion of fat at

* Texture, or connecting medium of the substance of the lungs.

† Wind-pipe.

‡ Ramifications of the wind-pipe through the lungs.

§ Knot, or protuberance.

‖ A membrane occupying the middle of the *thorax*, or chest, and dividing its cavity into two parts.

its base and on its ridges. The *aorta** and pulmonary ventricles†, and the corresponding auricles †, were in a state of proper conformation, but pale, and contained no blood. The orifices did not exhibit the appearance of any material injury. The large arterial and venous vessels about the heart were likewise empty, although generally in a state of proper conformation.

The abdomen exhibited the following appearances:—

Distension of the *peritonæum*‡, produced by a great quantity of gas.

A soft, transparent, and diffluent exudation lining the whole extent of the internal surface of the *peritonæum*.

The *epiploon*§ was in a state of proper conformation.

* *Aorta*, one of the great arteries of the heart.

† Cavities in or about the heart.

‡ Membrane enclosing the bowels.

§ A thin membrane floating over part of the intestines.

The spleen, and the liver, which was hardened, were very large and distended with blood. The texture of the liver, which was of a brownish red colour, did not, however, exhibit any remarkable alteration of structure. The *vesica fellis* * was filled and distended with very thick and clotted bile. The liver, which was affected by chronic hepatitis, closely adhered by its convex surface to the *diaphragm* †; the adhesion occupied the whole extent of that organ, and was strong, cellular, and of long existence.

The concave surface of the left lobe adhered closely and strongly to the corresponding part of the stomach, particularly along the small curve of that organ, and to the *epiploon*. At every point of contact, the lobe was sensibly thickened, swelled, and hardened.

The stomach appeared, at first sight, in a perfectly healthy state; no trace of irritation

* Gall bladder.

† Or midriff, a muscle that separates the *thorax* from the abdomen.

or *phlogosis* *, and the *peritonœal* membrane exhibited the most satisfactory appearance: but, on examining that organ with care, I discovered on its anterior surface, near the small curve, and at the breadth of three fingers from the *pylorus* †, a slight obstruction, apparently of a scirrhous nature, of little extent, and exactly circumscribed. The stomach was perforated through and through in the centre of that small induration; the aperture of which was closed by the adhesion of that part to the left lobe of the liver.

The volume of the stomach was smaller than it is usually found.

On opening that organ along its large curve, I observed that part of its capacity was filled with a considerable quantity of matters slightly consistent, and mixed with a great quantity of glairous substances, very thick, and of a colour resembling the sediment of coffee, and which exhaled an acrid and infectious odour.

* Tumour, with inflammation, heat, and pain.
† The lower orifice of the stomach.

These substances being removed, the mucous membrane of the stomach was ascertained to be sound from the small to the large cavity of this organ, following the great curve. Almost the whole of the remainder of the internal surface of the stomach was occupied by a cancerous ulcer, whose centre was in the upper part, along the small curve of the stomach, whilst the irregular digital and linguiform borders of its circumference extended both before and behind that internal surface, and from the orifice of the *cardia** to within a good inch of the *pylorus*. Its rounded opening, obliquely cut in the shape of a basil at the expense of the internal surface of the organ, scarcely occupied a diameter of four or five lines inside, and at most two lines and a half outside. The circular border of that opening was extremely thin, slightly denticulated, blackish, and only formed by the peritonæal membrane of the stomach. An ulcerous, greyish, and smooth surface lined this kind of canal, which, but for the adhesion of the liver, would have established a communication between the cavity of the stomach and that of the

* The upper orifice of the stomach.

abdomen. The right extremity of the stomach, at the distance of an inch from the *pylorus*, was surrounded by a tumour, or rather a scirrhous annular induration, a few lines in width. The orifice of the *pylorus* was in a perfect state. The lips of the ulcer exhibited remarkable fungous swellings, the bases of which were hard, thick, and in a scirrhous state, and extended also over the whole surface occupied by that cruel disease.

The little *epiploon* was contracted, swollen, very much hardened, and degenerated. The lymphatic glands of that peritonæal membrane, those placed along the curves of the stomach, as well as those near the pillars of the *diaphragm*, were in part tumefied and scirrhous; some even in a state of suppuration.

The digestive canal was distended by the presence of a great quantity of gas. I observed, in the peritonæal surface and in the peritonæal doublings, small specks and patches of a pale red colour, of various dimensions, and scattered at some distance from each other. The mucous membrane of this canal appeared to be in a

sound state. The large intestines were covered with a substance of a blackish colour and extremely viscous.

The right kidney was sound; that on the left side was out of its place, being thrown back upon the lumbar vertebræ: it was longer and narrower than the other; in other respects it appeared sound.

The bladder, which was empty and much contracted, contained a certain quantity of gravel, mixed with some small *calculi*.* Numerous red spots were scattered upon its mucous membrane, and the coats of the organ were in a diseased state.

I wished to examine the brain: the state of that organ in such a man as the Emperor, was an object of the highest interest; but my proceedings were unfeelingly arrested, and I was obliged to yield.

Having finished this melancholy operation, I detached the heart and stomach, and put them

* Stones.

in a silver vase filled with spirits of wine. I afterwards connected the separated parts, by a suture, washed the body, and made room for the *valet-de-chambre*, who dressed it as the Emperor was usually dressed during his life. Drawers, white kerseymere breeches, white waistcoat, white cravat, and over that a black one fastened behind with a buckle, the riband of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, the uniform of colonel of the *chasseurs de la garde*,* decorated with the Orders of the Legion of Honour, and of the Iron Crown,† long boots, *à l'écuyère*, with small spurs, and lastly, a cocked hat. Thus dressed, Napoleon was, at a quarter before six, removed from the drawing-room, into which the crowd immediately entered. The sheet and linen that had been used in the dissection of the body were carried away, torn in pieces, and distributed: they were stained with his blood, and every one wished, therefore, to have a fragment of them.

Napoleon was exposed in his small bed-room, which had been arranged as a *chambre ardente*,

* Green, with red facings.

† La couronne de fer.

being hung with black cloth taken from the stores of the East India Company at James Town. This latter circumstance communicated the intelligence of Napoleon's illness and death to the inhabitants of the island, who, surprised to see so many articles conveyed away, endeavoured, as well as the *employés* themselves, to ascertain the use to which they were to be appropriated, and for which they saw no cause. Curiosity increased, and became general in proportion as the object of it became known. The strangest ideas, the most extraordinary reports, were beginning to be circulated, when a Chinese revealed the mystery. A universal cry of surprise was then heard; every one was astonished—thunder-struck. "What! General Bonaparte was seriously ill! We were told that he enjoyed such excellent health!"

It had not been possible, for want of the necessary materials, to embalm the body, the whiteness of which was really extraordinary. It was deposited upon one of the small tent-beds, furnished with white curtains as funeral hangings!!! The cloak of blue cloth which Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo served

to cover him. The feet and hands were exposed to view; at his right side was his sword, and on his chest a crucifix. At some distance from the body was the silver vase in which I had been obliged to deposit his heart and stomach. Behind his head was an altar, at which the priest, habited in his surplice and stole, recited prayers. All the persons of his suite, officers and servants, dressed in mourning, were standing on his left. Doctor Arnott watched over the corpse, which had been placed under his personal responsibility.

The door of the *chambre ardente*, and the approach to it, had been for some hours past thronged by an immense crowd. The door was at last opened; and the crowd entered, and gazed upon the lifeless remains, without confusion, without tumult, and in a religious silence. The order of admittance was regulated by Captain Crokat, the orderly officer of Longwood. The officers and subalterns of the 20th and 66th regiments were first admitted, and the remainder afterwards. All felt that emotion which the spectacle of courage and misfortune united

never fails to excite in the hearts of all brave men.

The concourse of spectators was still greater on the following day: the troops and population all flocked to Longwood; and even the fair sex braved fatigue and authority, to contemplate the lifeless remains of the Emperor. An absurd order had forbidden their appearance at Longwood, but they mixed with the crowd, and their sentiments were only expressed with a greater degree of animation. Every body, indeed, seemed anxious to disclaim all participation in Napoleon's cruel death. This was a great consolation to us.

Whilst I was enjoying this consolation, I saw Doctors Shortt, Mitchell, and Burton, coming from the orderly officer's quarters, and advancing towards me. These gentlemen had, as I have already mentioned, been present at the autopsy, *ex officio*, but they had not taken any active part in the operation. It had, however, suddenly occurred to them that it was their duty to frame the report of it: they had con-

sequently written that report, and now brought it to me for my signature, which I refused to give. What had I to do with English and English reports? I was Napoleon's physician; I had performed the operation of the autopsy, and it was for me to state this fact, and the circumstances attending it. I could neither disguise any thing, nor listen to any suggestions; I offered a copy of my own report, but it did not answer the desired purpose, and was therefore rejected.

The coffin which was to receive the Emperor having been brought, I was obliged to place the heart and stomach in it. I had flattered myself that I should be able to convey them to Europe; but all my entreaties on that subject were fruitless: I experienced the grief and mortification of a refusal. I left the first-mentioned of these two organs in the vase in which it had at first been enclosed, and placed the second in another vase of the same metal, and of a cylindrical shape, which had been used to keep Napoleon's sponge. I filled the vase containing the heart with alcohol,

closed it hermetically, soldered it, and deposited it with the other at the angles of the coffin, in which Napoleon was then laid. The body was first placed upon a kind of mattress and pillow, in a tin-box lined with white satin. The Emperor's hat, which could not remain on his head for want of room, was placed on his feet; eagles, some pieces of all the coins bearing his effigy, his fork and spoon, his knife, a plate with his arms, &c. were also put into that box, which was carefully soldered, and placed in another of mahogany. A third, of lead, received these two boxes; and the whole was finally enclosed in a fourth of mahogany, which was closed, and secured with iron screws. The coffin was then covered with the cloak Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo, and exposed on the same spot where the body had lain. Arnott continued to watch, and Vignali to pray; whilst the crowd, which increased every hour, were allowed to circulate round these mournful objects.

Exhausted with fatigue and grief, we were going to withdraw, when Hudson joined us.

Ever humane, compassionate, and sincere, he deplored the loss we had sustained, and informed us that it was the more to be regretted, as his Government was beginning to be more favourably disposed, and *had ordered him to announce to General Bonaparte that the moment approached when his liberty might possibly be restored to him; and that his Britannic Majesty would not be the last to accelerate the term of his captivity.* "*He is now dead; all is over, and we shall to-morrow pay him the last honours. To-morrow, at daybreak, the troops have orders to be under arms, and in mourning.*"

8th.

This was accordingly done, as the Governor had stated; and he soon arrived at Longwood himself, and was shortly afterwards followed by the Admiral and all the civil and military authorities. The weather was beautiful, the roads were crowded with people, and the hills covered with musicians; never had so mournful and solemn a spectacle been before exhibited in the island. At half-past twelve the grenadiers took the coffin, which they could not lift without difficulty, and after repeated

and persevering efforts, succeeded in carrying it to and placing it on the hearse, which was waiting in the great walk in the garden; and it was then covered with a violet-coloured velvet cloth, and the cloak which Napoleon wore at Marengo. The Emperor's household was in mourning; and the funeral procession was arranged, and proceeded in the following order, which had been regulated by the Governor himself:—

Abbé Vignali, habited in the sacerdotal ornaments used for the celebration of mass, with young Henry Bertrand, carrying a vase of silver containing Holy-water and the *Aspersorium*.

Doctor Arnott and myself.

The persons appointed to take care of the hearse, which was drawn by four horses, led by grooms, and escorted by twelve grenadiers on each side, without arms.*

* They were to carry the coffin, when the bad state of the roads should prevent the hearse from advancing.

Young Napoléon Bertrand and Marchand, both on foot on each side of the hearse.
Counts Bertrand and Montholon on horseback immediately behind the hearse.
Part of the Emperor's suite.
Countess Bertrand, with her daughter Hortense, in a calash drawn by two horses led by servants who walked on the side of the precipice.
The Emperor's horse, led by his *piqueur* Archambaud.
The officers of the marines on foot and on horseback.
The officers of the Staff on horseback.
General Coffin and the Marquis Montchenu on horseback.
The Admiral and the Governor on horseback.
The inhabitants of the Island.

The procession left Longwood in this order, passed before the guard-house, and the garrison of the island, about two thousand five hundred strong, which lined the whole of the left side of the road as far as Hut's Gate. Bands of music, stationed at intervals, added by their mournful sounds to the solemn sadness of the

ceremony. After the procession had passed before the troops, they followed, and accompanied it towards the place of burial. The dragoons marched first, the 20th regiment of infantry followed; then came the marines, the 66th regiment, the volunteers of St. Helena; and lastly, the regiment of royal artillery, with fifteen pieces of cannon. Lady Lowe and her daughter were waiting on the road at Hut's Gate, in a calash drawn by two horses, and afterwards followed the procession at a distance, accompanied by some servants in mourning. The fifteen pieces of cannon were stationed along the road, and the men were near their pieces ready to fire.

At about a quarter of a mile beyond Hut's Gate the hearse stopped, and the troops halted and ranged themselves in order of battle along the road. The grenadiers then took the coffin on their shoulders, and carried it thus to the grave, by the new road which had been made for that purpose on the side of the mountain. Every body then dismounted; the ladies got out of the calash, and the procession followed the corpse without observing any order; Counts

Bertrand and Montholon, Marchand, and young Napoleon Bertrand, holding the four corners of the pall. The coffin was deposited on the edge of the grave, which was hung with black, and near to it were the machinery and the ropes with which it was to be lowered: every thing offered a mournful aspect; every thing contributed to increase the grief and affliction which filled our hearts. Our emotion was great, but deep, concentrated and silent. The coffin having been uncovered Abbé Vignali recited the usual prayers, and the body was consigned to the grave, the feet turned towards the east. The artillery then fired three successive volleys of fifteen guns each. During the march of the funeral procession, the Admiral's ship had fired twenty-five minute-guns. An enormous stone, which was to have been employed in the construction of the Emperor's new house, was now used to close his grave. The religious ceremonies being over, that stone was lifted up by means of a ring fixed in it, and was lowered down over the body, resting on both sides on a strong stone wall, so as not to touch the coffin. It was then fastened; the ring was taken away, the hole it had left filled up, and the masonry covered with a layer of cement.

Whilst these last arrangements were being made, the crowd rushed eagerly towards the willows, which the presence of Napoleon had already rendered objects of veneration. Every one wished to have branches or leaves from those trees that were to shade the grave of that great man, and to keep them in remembrance of this mournful and imposing scene. Hudson and the Admiral, displeased at this spontaneous manifestation of feeling, endeavoured to check it by anger and threats; but this had no other effect than that of increasing the activity of the assailants, and the willows were entirely stripped as high as the hand could reach. Hudson was pale with rage; but the guilty were numerous, and of all classes of people, and he could not therefore punish. He, however, took his revenge, by prohibiting all approach to the grave, which he surrounded by a barrier, and near which he placed two sentries and a guard of twelve men, with an officer; adding, that such a guard would be perpetually stationed there.

The Emperor's grave is about a league from Longwood. Its shape is quadrangular, but

wider at the top than at the bottom; its depth is about twelve feet. The coffin is placed upon two strong pieces of wood, and isolated on all sides. We were not allowed to place over it either a stone, or a modest inscription: the Governor opposed this pious wish; as if a tombstone, or an inscription, could have told the world more than they already knew!

Napoleon was in his grave; Hudson's task was over: nothing more remained for him to do but to collect his effects. For that purpose, he came to Longwood, caused a statement thereof to be delivered to him, examined every thing, searched every where, and even went so far as to open packets which the Emperor himself had sealed before his death: but all his trouble was in vain, he could not find the secret object of his researches. Resolved, however, not to desist, he became the more tenacious; ransacked the place over and over again; closely questioned every body; and only consented at last to withdraw after his agents had made an inventory of the furniture, packed up the books: and not a corner remained unvisited, or a rag unregistered.

We were anxious to preserve some objects, of no intrinsic worth, but possessing an inestimable value in our eyes as having been used by the Emperor. We begged, we entreated, we fixed no limits to our offers; but the more we insisted, the more harshly we were refused, and finally could not obtain any thing. By way of compensation, however, Hudson announced to us, with infinite grace, that we were to prepare for our departure, and that we should sail in a Government vessel, and at the expense of Government.

Being about to leave St. Helena, the moment had arrived to sum up our reckoning with our hosts: General Bertrand had an old affair to settle with Lowe, and was preparing to do so; but the gaoler entered into a negotiation, and the affair was arranged.

This had the effect of rendering him more pliable and attentive: he took upon himself to choose a ship for us, to give us a captain that might be relied upon, and a crew of good sailors, and had cast his eyes upon the Camel store-ship, a light and commodious transport,

uniting every advantage. We were endeavouring to guess the cause of these sudden kind dispositions of Hudson, when we were informed that the wonderful vessel was one used in transporting the provisions required for the island. We made a representation to him; but he exclaimed against it, protesting that we had been deceived, and ordering us to send our luggage on board. We did so; and supposing we were to embark the same night, we followed.

But before we left the island, we went to see, for the last time, the spot where Napoleon reposed. We bathed it with our tears, we surrounded it with violets and pansies, and bade *him* adieu for ever! We took with us a few branches of willow, which the soldiers had not the courage to refuse us, and arrived at James Town: but there had not been time enough to embark every thing; many boxes were still on shore, and the departure was therefore postponed till the next day. Hudson was waiting for us with Lady Lowe; he invited us to dinner, and we accepted. Mirth and magnificence presided over the banquet: Lowe was almost amiable; it might have been thought that he

had resigned his keys. But we were totally undeceived in that respect when we got on board the ship, which turned out to be, exactly as we had been told, a dirty narrow vessel used for the transport of bullocks, pigs, sheep, &c. for the consumption of the island. The connexion was ingenious, and the choice worthy of the person who had made it; but we were going to escape from bolts and locks, and we therefore resigned ourselves to the annoyance of being crowded pell-mell in a filthy ship. The weather was fine; not a cloud was to be seen. We weighed anchor on the 27th of May, and left this unfortunate station—not, however, without regret.

The wind filled our sails, the day was declining, and St. Helena was disappearing in the horizon. We waved a last farewell to that horrible rock, and went each of us in search of a little space in which we might repose ourselves. This was not an easy matter, for the deck was covered with boxes; from the stern to the head nothing was to be seen but furniture and bales: and Hudson had, in addition, crammed into this frail boat, which was below the dimensions of a

sloop, two hundred soldiers whom he was sending to Europe. The only resource was therefore to squat down at the foot of a mast or upon the frame of a gun; in short, wherever a place could be found to lean one's head.

We had passed the tropic and reached the equator, and the beauty, brilliancy, and mildness of the weather, made us feel our uncomfortable situation less keenly; but we were, however, not long before we began to experience the effects of it. Abdominal pains soon made their appearance, diarrhœa followed, and we were threatened with all the ravages dysentery commits in those latitudes. We redoubled our cares and precautions; we used medicines and salt-water baths, and succeeded in arresting the progress of the disorder, having only lost a few soldiers.

We had escaped disease; but our voyage had been so protracted, that our fowls had perished, we had no more fresh meat, and water and provisions were nearly exhausted, when we saw the Azores. This was the first station we approached; and, sinking under heat and fatigue,

we requested the captain to lay-to, and send to purchase some provisions for us: but he had been ordered not to touch any where; we were only ten days' sail from Portsmouth, and he therefore refused. Madame Bertrand being still an invalid, and recovering but very slowly from the illness she had suffered on board, we insisted; but were told that there still remained some salt meat and a little water; that we could wait, and that he would make all sail and increase our speed.

Our speed was indeed increased with a vengeance; for the sky became dark, the wind impetuous, and the sea, violently agitated by the storm, carried us on at the rate of nine, eleven, and twelve knots an hour. This storm proved fatal to us; for the sea covered two boxes where we cultivated the willow branches we had gathered on the Emperor's tomb, and killed them.

Having passed Africa, and being in Europe, within the limits prescribed by Napoleon, his executors took cognizance of his last testamentary dispositions. They were intended to

dwell only in the hearts of those whom they concerned; but England, where every thing is turned to account, has rendered them public for a shilling. They having, therefore, been published, I may, without impropriety, give them a place in these pages.

TESTAMENT

OF

NAPOLEON.

NAPOLEON.

This 15th April, 1821, at Longwood, Island of St. Helena. This is my Testament, or act of my last will.

1. I DIE in the Apostolical Roman religion, in the bosom of which I was born, more than fifty years since.

2. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I have loved so well.

3. I have always had reason to be pleased with my dearest wife, Maria Louisa. I retain

for her, to my last moment, the most tender sentiments—I beseech her to watch, in order to preserve my son from the snares which yet environ his infancy.

4. I recommend to my son, never to forget that he was born a French prince, and never to allow himself to become an instrument in the hands of the triumvirs who oppress the nations of Europe: he ought never to fight against France, or to injure her in any manner; he ought to adopt my motto: "*Every thing for the French people.*"

5. I die prematurely, assassinated by the English oligarchy and its * * *. The English nation will not be slow in avenging me.

6. The two unfortunate results of the invasions of France, when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treason of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and La Fayette.

I forgive them—May the posterity of France forgive them as I do!

7. I thank my good and most excellent mother, the Cardinal, my brothers Joseph, Lucien, Jerome, Pauline, Caroline, Julie, Hortense, Catarine, Eugène, for the interest they have continued to feel for me. I pardon Louis for the libel he published in 1820: it is replete with false assertions and falsified documents.

8. I disavow the "Manuscript of St. Helena," and other works, under the title of Maxims, Sayings, &c., which persons have been pleased to publish for the last six years. Such are not the rules which have guided my life. I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried, because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances, I should act in the same way.

II.

1. I bequeath to my son, the boxes, orders, and other articles; such as my plate, field-bed, saddles, spurs, chapel-plate, books, linen which

I have been accustomed to wear and use, according to the list annexed (A). It is my wish that this slight bequest may be dear to him, as coming from a father of whom the whole world will remind him.

2. I bequeath to Lady Holland the antique Cameo which Pope Pius VI. gave me at Tolentino.

3. I bequeath to Count Montholon, two millions of francs, as a proof of my satisfaction for the filial attentions he has paid me during six years, and as an indemnity for the losses his residence at St. Helena has occasioned him.

4. I bequeath to Count Bertrand, five hundred thousand francs.

5. I bequeath to Marchand, my first valet-de-chambre, four hundred thousand francs. The services he has rendered me are those of a friend; it is my wish that he should marry the widow, sister, or daughter, of an officer of my old Guard.

6. Item. To St. Denis, one hundred thousand francs.

7. Item. To Novarre (Noverraz,) one hundred thousand francs.

8. Item. To Pieron, one hundred thousand francs.

9. Item. To Archambaud, fifty thousand francs.

10. Item. To Cursot, twenty-five thousand francs.

11. Item. To Chandellier, twenty-five thousand francs.

12. To the Abbé Vignali, one hundred thousand francs. It is my wish that he should build his house near the Ponte Novo di Rostino.

13. Item. To Count Las Cases, one hundred thousand francs.

14. Item. To Count Lavalette, one hundred thousand francs.

15. Item. To Larrey, surgeon-in-chief, one

hundred thousand francs.—He is the most virtuous man I have known.

16. Item. To General Brayher, one hundred thousand francs.

17. Item. To General Le Fevre Desnouettes, one hundred thousand francs.

18. Item. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

19. Item. To General Cambrone, one hundred thousand francs.

20. Item. To the children of General Mouton Duvernet, one hundred thousand francs.

21. Item. To the children of the brave Labedoyère, one hundred thousand francs.

22. Item. To the children of General Girard, killed at Ligny, one hundred thousand francs.

23. Item. To the children of General Chartrand, one hundred thousand francs.

24. Item. To the children of the virtuous General Travot, one hundred thousand francs.

25. Item. To General Lallemand the elder, one hundred thousand francs.

26. Item. To Count Réal, one hundred thousand francs.

27. Item. To Costa de Bastelica, in Corsica, one hundred thousand francs.

28. Item. To General Clausel, one hundred thousand francs.

29. Item. To Baron de Mennevalle, one hundred thousand francs.

30. Item. To Arnault, the author of Marius, one hundred thousand francs.

31. Item. To Colonel Marbot, one hundred thousand francs.—I recommend him to continue to write in defence of the glory of the French armies, and to confound their calumniators and apostates.

32. Item. To Baron Bignon, one hundred thousand francs.—I recommend him to write the history of French diplomacy from 1792 to 1815

33. Item. To Poggi di Talavo, one hundred thousand francs.

34. Item. To surgeon Emmery, one hundred thousand francs.

35. These sums will be raised from the six millions which I deposited on leaving Paris in 1815; and from the interest at the rate of 5 per cent. since July 1815. The account thereof will be settled with the banker by Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and Marchand.

36. Whatever that deposit may produce beyond the sum of five million six hundred thousand francs, which have been above disposed of, shall be distributed as a gratuity amongst the wounded at the battle of Waterloo, and amongst the officers and soldiers of the battalion of the Isle of Elba, according to a scale to be determined upon by Montholon, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambrone, and the surgeon Larrey.

37. These legacies, in case of death, shall be paid to the widows and children, and in default of such, shall revert to the bulk of my property.

III.

1. My private domain being my property, of which I am not aware that any French law has deprived me, an account of it will be required from the Baron de la Bouillerie, the treasurer thereof; it ought to amount to more than two hundred millions of francs; namely, 1. The portfolio containing the savings which I made during fourteen years out of my civil list, which savings amounted to more than twelve millions per annum, if my memory be good. 2. The produce of this portfolio. 3. The furniture of my palaces, such as it was in 1814, including the palaces of Rome, Florence, and Turin. All this furniture was purchased with moneys accruing from the civil list. 4. The proceeds of my houses in the kingdom of Italy, such as money, plate, jewels, furniture, equipages; the accounts of which will be rendered by Prince Eugène and the steward of the Crown, Campagnoni.

NAPOLEON.

(Second Sheet.)

2. I bequeath my private domain, one half to the surviving officers and soldiers of the French army who have fought since 1792 to 1815, for the glory and the independence of the nation; the distribution to be made in proportion to their appointments upon active service; and one half to the towns and districts of Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Burgundy, the Isle of France, Champagne Forest, Dauphiné, which may have suffered by either of the invasions. There shall be previously set apart from this sum, one million for the town of Brienne, and one million for that of Méri. I appoint Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and Marchand, the executors of my will.

This present will, wholly written with my own hand, is signed, and sealed with my own arms.

NAPOLEON.

(L. S.)

List (A).

Annexed to my Will.

Longwood, Island of St. Helena,
this 15th April, 1821.

I.

1. The consecrated vessels which have been in use at my chapel at Longwood.

2. I direct Abbé Vignali to preserve them, and to deliver them to my son when he shall reach the age of sixteen years.

II.

1. My arms; that is to say, my sword, that which I wore at Austerlitz, the sabre of Sobiesky, my dagger, my broad sword, my hanger, my two pair of Versailles pistols.

2. My gold dressing-case, that which I made use of on the morning of Ulm and of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Eylau, of Friedland, of the Island of Lobau, of the Moskwa, of Montmirail. In this point of view it is my wish that it may be precious in the eyes of my son. (It has been deposited with Count Bertrand since 1814.)

3. I charge Count Bertrand with the care of preserving these objects, and of conveying them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

III.

1. Three small mahogany boxes, containing, the first, thirty-three snuff-boxes or comfit-boxes; the second, twelve boxes with the Imperial arms, two small eye-glasses, and four boxes found on the table of Louis XVIII. in the Tuileries, on the 20th of March, 1815; the third, three snuff-boxes, ornamented with silver medals habitually used by the Emperor; and sundry articles for the use of the toilet, according to the lists numbered I. II. III.

2. My field-beds, which I used in all my campaigns.

3. My field-telescope.

4. My dressing-case, one of each of my uniforms, a dozen of shirts, and a complete set of each of my dresses, and generally of every thing used in my toilet.

5. My wash-hand stand.

6. A small clock which is in my bed-chamber at Longwood.

7. My two watches, and the chain of the Empress's hair.

8. I entrust the care of these articles to Marchand, my principal valet-de-chambre, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

IV.

1. My cabinet of medals.

2. My plate, and my Sèvres china, which I used at St Helena. (List B. and C.)

3. I request Count Montholon to take care of these articles, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

V.

1. My three saddles and bridles, my spurs which I used at St. Helena.

2. My fowling-pieces, to the number of five.

3. I charge my *chasseur*, Noverraz, with the care of these articles, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

VI.

1. Four hundred volumes, selected from those in my library which I have been accustomed to use the most.

2. I direct St. Denis to take care of them, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

NAPOLEON.

LIST (A).

1. None of the articles which have been used by me shall be sold; the residue shall be divided amongst the executors of my will and my brothers.

2. Marchand shall preserve my hair, and cause a bracelet to be made of it, with a little gold clasp, to be sent to the Empress Maria Louisa, to my mother, and to each of my

brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, the Cardinal; and one of larger size for my son.

3. Marchand will send one pair of my gold shoe-buckles to Prince Joseph.

4. A small pair of gold knee-buckles to Prince Lucien.

5. A gold collar-clasp to Prince Jerome.

List (A).

Inventory of my effects, which Marchand will take care of, and convey to my son.

1. My silver dressing-case, that which is on my table, furnished with all its utensils, razors, &c.

2. My alarum-clock: it is the alarum-clock of Frederic II. which I took at Potsdam (in box No. III.).

3. My two watches, with the chain of the Empress's hair, and a chain of my own hair for the other watch; Marchand will get it made at Paris.

4. My two seals (one the seal of France, contained in box No. III.).

5. The small gold clock which is now in my bed-chamber.

6. My wash-hand-stand and its water-jug.

7. My night-tables, those I used in France, and my silver-gilt bidet.

8. My two iron bedsteads, my mattresses, and my coverlets, if they can be preserved.

9. My three silver decanters, which held my eau-de-vie, and which my *chasseurs* carried in the field.

10. My French telescope.

11. My spurs, two pair.

12. Three mahogany boxes, No. I. II. III., containing my snuff-boxes and other articles.

13. A silver-gilt perfuming pan.

Body Linen.

Six shirts.
Six handkerchiefs.
Six cravats.

Six napkins.
Six pair of silk stockings.
Four black stocks.
Six pair of under-stockings.
Two pair of cambric sheets.
Two pillow cases.
Two dressing-gowns.
Two pair of night drawers.
One pair of braces.
Four pair of white kerseymere breeches and vests.
Six madras.
Six flannel waistcoats.
Four pair of drawers.
Six pair of gaiters.
One small box filled with my snuff.
One gold neck-buckle,
One pair gold knee-buckles,
One pair gold shoe-buckles,
} contained in the little box, No. III.

Clothes.

One uniform of the Chasseurs.
One ditto Grenadiers.
One ditto National Guard.
Two hats.
One green-and-grey great coat.

One blue cloak (that which I had at Marengo.)
One sable green pelisse.
Two pair of shoes.
Two pair of boots.
One pair of slippers.
Six belts.

NAPOLEON.

List (B).

Inventory of the Effects which I left in the possession of Monsieur the Count de Turenne.

One Sabre of Sobiesky. (It is, by mistake, inserted in List (A.) that being the sabre which the Emperor wore at Aboukir, and which is in the hands of Count Bertrand).
One Grand Collar of the Legion of Honour.
One sword of silver-gilt.
One Consular sword.
One sword of steel.
One velvet belt.

One Collar of the Golden Fleece.
One small dressing-case of steel.
One night-lamp of silver.
One handle of an antique sabre.
One hat *à la* Henry IV. and a toque*. The lace of the Emperor.
One small cabinet of medals.
Two Turkey carpets.
Two mantles of crimson velvet, embroidered, with vests, and small-clothes.

I give to my son the sabre of Sobiesky.

Do.	the collar of the Legion of Honour.
Do.	the sword silver gilt.
Do.	the Consular sword.
Do.	the steel sword.
Do.	the collar of the Golden Fleece.
Do.	the hat *à la* Henry IV. and the *toque*.
Do.	the golden dressing-case for the teeth, which is in the hands of the dentist.

* A velvet hat, with a flat crown, and brims turned up.

To the Empress Maria Louisa, my lace.

To Madame, the silver night-lamp.

To the Cardinal, the small steel dressing-case.

To Prince Eugene, the wax-candle-stick, silver gilt.

To the Princess Pauline, the small cabinet of medals.

To the Queen of Naples, a small Turkey carpet.

To the Queen Hortense, a small Turkey carpet.

To Prince Jerome, the handle of the antique sabre.

To Prince Joseph, an embroidered mantle, vest, and small-clothes.

To Prince Lucien, an embroidered mantle, vest, and small-clothes.

NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821, Longwood.

This is my Codicil or act of my last Will.

Upon the funds remitted in gold to the Empress Maria Louisa, my very dear and well-

beloved spouse, at Orleans, in 1814, she remains in my debt two millions, of which I dispose by the present Codicil, for the purpose of recompensing my most faithful servants, whom moreover I recommend to the protection of my dear Maria Louisa.

1. I recommend to the Empress to cause the income of thirty thousand francs, which Count Bertrand possessed in the Duchy of Parma, and upon the Mont Napoleon at Milan, to be restored to him, as well as the arrears due.

2. I make the same recommendation to her with regard to the Duke of Istria, Duroc's daughter, and others of my servants who have continued faithful to me, and who have never ceased to be dear to me: she knows them.

3. Out of the above-mentioned two millions I bequeath three hundred thousand francs to Count Bertrand, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be employed in legacies of conscience, according to my dispositions.

4. I bequeath two hundred thousand francs to Count Montholon, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

5. Item, two hundred thousand francs to Count Las Cases, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

6. Item, to Marchand one hundred thousand francs, of which he will place fifty thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

7. To Jean Jerome Levi, the Mayor of Ajaccio at the commencement of the revolution, or to his widow, children, or grand-children, one hundred thousand francs.

8. To Duroc's daughter, one hundred thousand francs.

9. To the son of Bessières, Duke of Istria, one hundred thousand francs.

10. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

11. To Count Lavalette, one hundred thousand francs.

12. Item, one hundred thousand francs; that is to say:—

Twenty-five thousand to Piéron, my maître d'hôtel.

Twenty-five thousand to Novarre, my *chasseur*.

Twenty-five thousand to St. Denis, the keeper of my books.

Twenty-five thousand to Santini, my former door-keeper.

13. Item, one hundred thousand francs; that is to say:—

Forty thousand to Planat, my orderly officer.

Twenty thousand to Hébert, lately housekeeper of Rambouillet, and who belonged to my chamber in Egypt.

Twenty thousand to Lavigné, who was lately keeper of one of my stables, and who was my *piqueur* in Egypt.

Twenty thousand to Jeanet Dervieux, who was overseer of the stables, and served me in Egypt.

14. Two hundred thousand francs shall be distributed in alms to the inhabitants of Brienne-le-Château, who have suffered most.

15. The three hundred thousand francs remaining shall be distributed to the officers and soldiers of the battalion of my guard at the Island of Elba who may be now alive, or to their widows and children, in proportion to their appointments, and according to an estimate which shall be fixed by my testamentary executors: those who have suffered amputation, or have been severely wounded, shall receive double; the estimate to be fixed by Larrey and Emmery.

This codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

This 24th April, 1821. Longwood.

This is my Codicil, or note of my last Will.

1. Out of the settlement of my civil list of Italy, such as money, jewels, plate, linen, equipages, of which the Viceroy is the depositary, and which belonged to me, I dispose of two millions, which I bequeath to my most faithful servants. I hope that, without availing himself of any reason to the contrary, my son Eugene Napoleon will pay them faithfully. He cannot forget the forty millions which I gave him in Italy, and in the distribution of the inheritance of his mother.

11. Out of these two millions, I bequeath to Count Bertrand three hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be disposed of according to my dispositions in payment of legacies of conscience.

2. To Count Montholon, two hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hun-

dred thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

3. To Count Las Cases, two hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

4. To Marchand, one hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit fifty thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

5. To Count La Valette, one hundred thousand francs.

6. To General Hogendorf, of Holland, my aide-de-camp, who has retired to the Brazils, one hundred thousand francs.

7. To my aide-de-camp, Corbineau, fifty thousand francs.

8. To my aide-de-camp, General Caffarelli, fifty thousand francs.

9. To my aide-de-camp, Dejean, fifty thousand francs.

10. To Percy, surgeon-in-chief at Waterloo, fifty thousand francs.

11. Fifty thousand francs, that is to say:—

Ten thousand to Piéron, my maître d'hôtel.
Ten thousand to St. Denis, my head *chasseur*.
Ten thousand to Noverraz.
Ten thousand to Cursot, my clerk of the kitchen.
Ten thousand to Archambaud, my *piqueur*.

12. To Baron De Mennevalle, fifty thousand francs.

13. To the Duke d'Istria, son of Bessières, fifty thousand francs.

14. To the daughter of Duroc, fifty thousand francs.

15. To the children of Labedoyère, fifty thousand francs.

16. To the children of Mouton Duvernet, fifty thousand francs.

17. To the children of the brave and virtuous General Travot, fifty thousand francs.

18. To the children of Chartrand, fifty thousand francs.

19. To General Cambrone, fifty thousand francs.

20. To General Lefevre Desnouettes, fifty thousand francs.

21. To be distributed amongst such proscribed persons as wander in foreign countries, whether they be French, Italian, Belgians, Dutch, Spanish, or inhabitants of the departments of the Rhine, under the directions of my executors, and upon their orders, one hundred thousand francs.

22. To be distributed amongst those who suffered amputation, or were severely wounded at Ligny or Waterloo, who may be still living, according to lists drawn up by my executors, to whom shall be added Cambrone, Larrey, Percy, and Emmery. The guards shall be paid double; those of the Island of Elba, quadruple; two hundred thousand francs.

This codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821, at Longwood.

This is a third Codicil to my Will of the 15th of April.

1. Amongst the diamonds of the Crown which were delivered up in 1814, there were some to the value of five or six hundred thousand francs, not belonging to it, but which formed part of my private property; repossession shall be obtained of them in order to discharge my legacies.

2. I had in the hands of the banker Torlonia, at Rome, bills of exchange to the amount of two or three hundred thousand francs, the product of my revenues of the Island of Elba since 1815. The Sieur De la Perruse, although no longer my treasurer, and not invested with any character, possessed himself of this sum. He shall be compelled to refund it.

3. I bequeath to the Duke of Istria three hundred thousand francs, of which only one hundred thousand francs shall be reversible to his widow, should the Duke be dead before

payment of the legacy. It is my wish, should there be no inconvenience in it, that the Duke may marry Duroc's daughter.

4. I bequeath to the Duchess of Frioul, the daughter of Duroc, two hundred thousand francs: should she be dead before the payment of this legacy, none of it shall be given to the mother.

5. I bequeath to General Rigaud, (to him who was proscribed,) one hundred thousand francs.

6. I bequeath to Boisnod, the intendant-commissary, one hundred thousand francs.

7. I bequeath to the children of General Letort, who was killed in the campaign of 1815, one hundred thousand francs.

8. These eight hundred thousand francs of legacies shall be considered as inserted at the end of Article thirty-six of my testament, which will make the legacies I have disposed of by will amount to the sum of six million four-

hundred thousand francs, without including the donations I have made by my second codicil.

This is written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

(L. S.) NAPOLEON.

[On the outside is written:]

This is my third codicil to my will, entirely written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

To be opened the same day, and immediately after the opening of my will.

NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821. Longwood.

This is a fourth Codicil to my Testament.

By the dispositions we have heretofore made, we have not fulfilled all our obligations, which has decided us to make this fourth codicil.

1. We bequeath to the son or grandson of Baron Dutheil, lieutenant-general of artillery,

and formerly lord of St. André, who commanded the school of Auxonne before the Revolution, the sum of one hundred thousand francs, as a memento of gratitude for the care which that brave general took of us when we were lieutenant and captain under his orders.

2. Item. To the son or grandson of General Dugomier, who commanded in chief the army of Toulon, the sum of one hundred thousand francs. We, under his orders, directed that siege, and commanded the artillery: it is a testimonial of remembrance for the marks of esteem, affection, and friendship, which that brave and intrepid general gave us.

3. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the son or grandson of the deputy of the Convention, Gasparin, representative of the people at the army of Toulon, for having protected and sanctioned with his authority the plan we had given, which procured the capture of that city, and which was contrary to that sent by the Committee of Public Safety. Gasparin, by his protection, sheltered us from the persecution and ignorance of the

general officers who commanded the army before the arrival of my friend Dugomier.

4. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the widow, son, or grandson, of our aid-de-camp Muiron, killed at our side at Arcola, covering us with his body.

5. Item. Ten thousand francs to the subaltern officer Cantillon, who has undergone a trial upon the charge of having endeavoured to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that *oligarchist*, as the latter had to send me to perish upon the rock of St. Helena. Wellington, who proposed this outrage, attempted to justify it by pleading the interest of Great Britain. Cantillon, if he had really assassinated that lord, would have pleaded the same excuse, and been justified by the same motive—the interest of France—to get rid of this General, who, moreover, by violating the capitulation of Paris, had rendered himself responsible for the blood of the martyrs Ney, Labedoyère, &c.; and for the crime of

having pillaged the museums, contrary to the text of the treaties.

6. These four hundred thousand francs shall be added to the six million four hundred thousand of which we have disposed, and will make our legacies amount to six million eight hundred and ten thousand francs; these four hundred and ten thousand are to be considered as forming part of our testament, Article 36, and to follow in every respect the same course as the other legacies.

7. The nine thousand pounds sterling which we gave to Count and Countess Montholon, should, if they have been paid, be deducted and carried to the account of the legacies which we have given him by our testament. If they have not been paid, our notes of hand shall be annulled.

8. In consideration of the legacy given by our will to Count Montholon, the pension of twenty thousand francs granted to his wife is annulled. Count Montholon is charged with the payment of it to her.

9. The administration of such an inheritance, until its final liquidation, requiring expenses of offices, journeys, missions, consultations, and lawsuits, we expect that our testamentary executors shall retain 3 per cent. upon all the legacies; as well upon the six million eight hundred thousand francs, as upon the sums contained in the codicils, and upon the two hundred millions of francs of the private domain.

10. The amount of the sums thus retained shall be deposited in the hands of a treasurer, and disbursed by drafts from our testamentary executors.

11. Should the sums arising from the aforesaid deductions not be sufficient to defray the expenses, provision shall be made to that effect at the expense of the three testamentary executors and the treasurer, each in proportion to the legacy which we have bequeathed to them in our will and codicils.

12. Should the sums arising from the beforementioned subtractions be more than necessary,

the surplus shall be divided amongst our three testamentary executors and the treasurer, in the proportion of their respective legacies.

13. We nominate Count Las Cases, and in default of him his son, and in default of the latter, General Drouot, to be treasurer.

This present codicil is entirely written with our hand, signed, and sealed with our arms.

NAPOLEON.

FIRST LETTER.

TO M. LAFITTE.

Monsieur Lafitte, I delivered to you in 1815, at the moment of my departure from Paris, a sum of nearly six millions, for which you gave me a receipt in duplicate. I have cancelled one of the receipts, and I direct Count Montholon to present the other receipt to you, in order that you may pay to him, after my death, the said sum, with interest at the rate of 5 per

cent. from the 1st of July, 1815, deducting the payments which you have been instructed to make by virtue of my orders.

It is my wish that the settlement of your account be agreed upon between you, Count Montholon, Count Bertrand, and the Sieur Marchand; and that settlement being made, I give you, by these presents, a complete and absolute discharge from the said sum.

I also, at that time, placed in your hands a box containing my cabinet of medals. I beg you will deliver it to Count Montholon.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur Lafitte, to have you in his holy and good keeping.

NAPOLEON.

Longwood, Island of St. Helena,
the 25th April, 1821.

SECOND LETTER.

TO THE BARON LABOUILLERIE.

Monsieur le Baron Labouillerie, treasurer of my private domain, I beg you will deliver the account and the amount thereof, after my death, to Count Montholon, whom I have charged with the execution of my will.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur le Baron Labouillerie, to have you in his holy and good keeping.

NAPOLEON.

Longwood, Island of St. Helena,
25th April, 1821.

The storm had ceased; but it blew fresh, and we were soon in sight of the coast, and successively discovered the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, and Spithead, where we anchored on the 31st July, after an unpleasant passage of sixty-five days. The officer to whom Hudson had entrusted his despatches set off immedi-

ately for London; but we were confined on board. The King of England was parading at some distance from us; the ships were firing, the forts returning the fire, and in the midst of these volleys and detonations our Camel did not remain behind-hand. Gun followed gun on all sides; we were completely stunned, and were cursing these noisy rejoicings, when we saw the squadron which escorted George IV. bear down upon us. His Majesty approached, directed his glass upon us, and sent three persons of his suite to congratulate us upon our arrival. The compliments having been delivered, questions followed. They deplored the death of Napoleon, and expressed a great desire to know every particularity and every circumstance, however trifling, attending it. Being Napoleon's physician, I was particularly the object of their marks of kindness and attention; but I was within sight of the land whence the orders of death had issued, and was not disposed to be very communicative.

At last, after three days' seclusion, we were informed that we might go ashore; that we

were free, and at liberty to direct our steps wherever we thought proper, subject, however, to the provisions of the *Alien Bill*. This was a matter of indifference to me: all that I had seen of England did not tempt me to live in that country, and I cared very little about its laws and savage measures.

We landed—the bells were ringing—the people flocked to the port, and we were surrounded, pressed, greeted with the eagerness of a nation which discarded all participation in the crime which had plunged us in such deep affliction. Two days afterwards I set off for London, where I arrived the same day, and immediately wrote to Madame Mère to inform her of my return. The Council had sent for me to appear before them: I went, and found that they wished to have some information respecting the climate of St. Helena; which I gave them. "And Longwood? its situation was good?"—"Horrible! cold, hot, dry, and damp, it exhibited an amalgamation of every extreme of atmospherical variation twenty times in a day." "But this had no influence on General Bonaparte's health?"—"It sent him to his grave!"—

" How can that be? he died of an hereditary affection."—" Hereditary diseases are chimeras, the existence of which medicine does not acknowledge. It was the climate that killed him."—" You think so?"—" I am certain of it."—" But his father?"—" His father died of a *schirrus of the pylorus*, and he of a *chronic gastro-hepatitis*. His affections had not been transmitted to him any more than his genius; every thing resided in him."—" Would he not have been attacked with the same complaint in Europe?"—" No: it is endemic only in the latitude of St. Helena."—" What would have been the consequence of a change of residence?"—" That he would still be alive."—" Even though the change should have taken place only a few months ago?"—" Even then: his constitution was naturally strong, and it has required two years' exposure to the climate to destroy it."—" Did the formation of the ulcer date only from that period?"—" It had no existence before."—" It is a pity!"—" A pity!!"—" But the tranquillity of the world was at stake."—" However....."—" Yes," said a member of the Council, " he would have upset Europe again, if he had been able to ap-

proach it."—"Political questions are not within my sphere; but there were stations quite as secure, and less unhealthy."—"Who could know that St. Helena was so insalubrious?"—"Who?—the Parliament, the Royal Society, every body. Registers of deaths are every where kept; and they prove that nobody at St. Helena attains the age of forty, without either dying or being struck with intellectual nullity." This reply offended one of the members of the Council. "What signifies, after all, the death of General Bonaparte? It rids us of an implacable enemy, and delivers him from a painful situation in which he would have remained for ever."—"The assurances given to us by the Governor," answered I, "were not of that nature."—"The Governor! the Governor!"—"Your Excellency does not do him justice: he was a strict follower of his instructions."—"If so, why did he not cause the body of Bonaparte to be thrown into lime? the idol would then have been completely destroyed, and we should have the sooner done with him."

His Excellency had opened his mind without reserve: I had nothing more to say, and

withdrew. I now had the measure of ministerial antipathy. I thought that * * * had communicated it to his agents; but I was mistaken. One of these agents had followed me from St. Helena to London, in the hope of obtaining possession of the cast of Napoleon's face, and had preferred a complaint; stating, that *amongst the effects of Count Bertrand, and in his dwelling, was a bust in plaster of General Bonaparte, which belonged to him; but which the Count and Countess nevertheless obstinately persisted in retaining.* In consequence of this statement he was authorized to employ an armed force, in order to regain possession of it.* The Grand Marshal interfered, and the magistrate, being informed of the nature of Burton's right to the property, withdrew the authorisation he had given, and I remained possessor of the cast, which I preserve with religious care. Coercive measures having failed, offers were resorted to: six thousand pounds sterling were proposed to me if I would give up the cast, and only keep a copy of it; but I proposed to present one to Madame Mère, and to keep one for myself, and therefore refused.

* Mr. Antommarchi probably means that a search-warrant was obtained.—*Engl. Editor.*

I had procured a passport from the French embassy, and immediately made my arrangements to proceed to Rome. Leaving London, therefore, I passed through Dover and Calais, and arrived at Paris, where I applied to the Austrian ambassador, who refused to countersign my passport. I nevertheless continued my journey, but the police awaited me at the foot of the mountains; and there I found officers, inspectors, delegates, in short agents of every description and denomination. The first into whose hands I fell was the tutelary genius of Chamberry. He apologized, questioned, searched, and did not leave a single article of my effects untouched or unexamined. He very much regretted, he said, to be obliged to submit me to so strict an investigation, but such was the custom; he could, besides, very well see that I did not belong to any factious party, and he could comply with the instructions he had received without prejudice to the friendly sentiments he felt disposed to entertain for me. Unfortunately, in the midst of the warmth of these professions, he espied an open letter which I was carrying from London to Turin. This letter he read; and finding its tenor mysterious,

and its meaning obscure, he expressed himself particularly grieved to be under the necessity of sending it to the Minister. I left this man to his visions, and returned to the hotel where I lodged; but I had scarcely got there before he sent for me. He had searched and ransacked further, and had found amongst my papers some old algebraical calculation. This was too much: a conspiracy clearly existed; I could not deny it—he held the proof of it in his hand. I protested in vain that such was not the case; that these signs were well known, and commonly employed; that sciences ..... "Down with all abettors of revolutions! Respect the King's servant."—"How have I offended him?"—"By expressions which he must not hear."—"What do you mean?"—"That rebellion has not yet sufficiently disturbed the earth; that materials are still to be found wherewith to shake thrones, subvert legitimacy, and convulse Europe!"—"Does this concern me?"—"Yes, Sir, you!"—"I have never even thought of any such thing."—"What, then, are you thinking about? what do you propose to do?"—"To pass the mountains as quickly as possible, and reach Turin."—"Do you really think that

I am not aware of your plans?"—"What plans? what do you mean?"—"That I know all: come, Sir, confess it! for, situated as you are, unreserved candour alone can save you; who is this X?"—"What X?"—"He whom you are going to seduce and mislead."—"I!"—"Yes, you." He unrolled the paper upon which the calculations were detailed: "There, Sir, who is that X?"—"X is the unknown."—"You are pleased to be merry, Sir: secretary, write that he is trifling." The secretary wrote accordingly, and the police personage continued: "My correspondence had given me every information; before your arrival, I was aware of all that is going forward; that X is Mr. ***, is it not?" I was astonished, thunderstruck at the horrible industry and ingenuity of this man; he took my silence for a kind of confession, and his arguments became the more pressing. He had guessed at once, he said; all disaffected individuals were known to him; he watched over them, surrounded them with snares: there was not one of them whose hopes and plans he could not tell. But how could *I* join in such plots? I had been deceived and imposed upon: he was disposed to make every allowance for

youth and inexperience; and would willingly give me an opportunity of retracing my steps; but I must confess every thing, and disclose who X, Y, and Z, were. With respect to X, he had found him out; yet he should be glad to learn from me that he had guessed rightly; besides, he was arrested."—"Who, X?"—"Yes; last night four soldiers arrested him, and conducted him to the fortress; as for Y and Z, they have probably absconded."—"Do you really think they have?"—"And what is more, they cannot escape."—"How so?"—"I have dispatched people to Milan and Bologna. Well! (he was observing the expression of my features) have I guessed?"—"Perfectly well."—"Y is, * * *?"—"No."—"No, no, I meant to say * * * *. And Z; you fancy, perhaps, that I do not know him, because he is further off; but you are mistaken—it is * * *. Come, confess, it is he."—"Who?"—"You know the man I mean, he has a wound ..... no, not a wound, a mark on the forehead."—"No, he has nothing of the kind. But this is carrying things too far. It is a most unworthy attempt to endeavour to transform a problem into a conspiracy!

to discover conspirators in X's and Y's! and to betray me into mentioning names to personify them! Such a treatment, Mr. Roassio, would not be experienced from common plunderers in a wood."

I advanced towards the door without meeting with any opposition, and withdrew; but before I could reach the hotel, his *sbirri** were already seeking for me. I followed them, and was once more conducted before the same personage. I found him in a meditative mood, holding in his hand the letter he had taken from me, and poring over its contents. "I have found out the plot," said he; "it is here; I have got a clue to the whole mystery; these two documents mutually explain each other: for the last time, Sir, will you confess?" — "Confess what?" — "The existence of the plot of which I hold the proofs!—the plan of corruption of which you have traced the declaration with your own hand." — "Who, I?" — "You, Sir; read: Y and Z *remain to be determined.* They are, then, still hesitating; and it is in order to seduce and corrupt them, that you wish to get

* A kind of constable.

near them!"—"Once more, Sir, I must tell you, it is abusing your authority to imagine conspiracies in a college exercise."—"A college exercise!"—"Neither more nor less."—"You forget yourself, Sir; you endeavour to deceive a magistrate! Nothing of the kind is thought of in colleges. I never heard of any thing of the kind. Why did you go to St. Helena?"—"Because it suited my convenience."—"What did you do there?"—"I took lessons of patience; it is a virtue highly necessary with the police, and heaven had provided for its practice!"—"You were living under the superintendence of one of the magistrates of the Island, were you not?"—"Yes; and one who was worth all other magistrates put together."—"All! that is saying a great deal."—"But not more than the truth: you only see one conspiracy in this letter; Reade would have discovered *ten* in every line of it."—"Indeed!"—"It is a fact."—"He was a clever man."—"Quite an Œdipus!"—"But for him . . ."—"But for you . . . ."—"I should be . . ."—"Without an equal, and he also. I have nothing more to say; I am going—farewell until I see you again."

The magistrate made a slight inclination of the head, sent for me again in an hour afterwards, again dismissed and again recalled me; made me rise five times the same night, and only consented after nine hours deliberation to endorse and countersign my passport, which he did upon the condition that I should proceed immediately on my arrival at Turin to the office of the Minister of Police.

Fortunately the alarms entertained by the magistrate of Chamberry did not prevail at Turin; but the game was only deferred: I was to pass through Boffalora, and there I found an inspector, who questioned, tormented, threatened, and only agreed, after a stormy discussion, to endorse my passport in the following polite terms:—

"Boffalora, Oct. 12th, 1821.

"*Seen and approved for the continuation of the journey to Rome, provided the bearer follow the road from Majenta to Milan, and be out of the Lombardian provinces in the space of two days, beginning from the present.*"

(Signed) "LELLI,
"Inspector of the Police at Boffalora."

I followed the route pointed out by this Inspector, but I could not with equal readiness comply with his instructions respecting the evacuation of the Lombardian States. The weather was horrible when I got to Milan, and the Governor was in the country. I was therefore obliged to wait; but, as my presence endangered the public safety, a courier was despatched to the magistrate, who gave orders for my being examined and removed, and not allowed to remain an hour longer in the capital. I was accordingly sent for, examined, and tormented in a thousand ways; until at last I fell into the hands of a man who, less savage than his chief, granted me the remainder of the day, and endorsed my passport in the following manner:—

"Milan, Oct. 14th, 1821.

"Seen at the Imperial and Royal Police Office, and approved for the continuation of the journey to Rome, following the route of Florence, and leaving Milan in the course of this very day.

(Signed) "MORELLI, *Delegate.*"

The weather was horrible, and the decision very unceremonious; but I had expected even worse. Without, therefore, making any observation, I started, travelled all night, and arrived the next morning at Parma.

The Chevalier Rossi, major of dragoons, whom I had known previously to my departure from St. Helena, was kind enough to introduce me to Count Neipperg, who received me very politely, and made numerous inquiries concerning the illness and death of the Emperor. I was desirous of giving the same details to the Empress, and of delivering in person a letter addressed to her by Counts Bertrand and Montholon; and I requested his Excellency to obtain for me an audience of her Majesty.—"I cannot," answered he: "the intelligence of your arrival has had the effect of increasing the grief of the Archduchess; and in her present state of affliction she is unable to receive you. But I offer to be the medium of your communication: I will convey to her whatever you may confide to me orally; and will deliver to her the letter of which you are the bearer, if you have no objection to its passing through my hands."

I was far from entertaining any feelings of mistrust; and if I had entertained any, the kindness of the Count's manner would have been sufficient to dissipate them. I therefore delivered the letter to him; he took it, left the room, and returned in a few minutes.—"Her Majesty has read the letter, and deeply regrets that she cannot see you; but it is out of her power to do so. She eagerly accedes to the last wishes of Napoleon respecting you; but before she complies with them, it is necessary that she should submit them to her august father. You are acquainted with their import?"—"I am."—"It matters not; I will nevertheless read them to you:—

"London, 12th September, 1821.

"MADAM,

"Doctor Antommarchi, who will have the honour of delivering this letter to your Majesty, attended the Emperor, your august consort, during the illness to which he fell a victim.

"In his last moments the Emperor directed us to inform your Majesty, that he begged you to pay to M. Antommarchi a pension for life of six thousand francs, as a reward for his ser-

vices at St. Helena; and that he desired that your Majesty would attach the Doctor to your household as your surgeon in ordinary, as well as Abbé Vignali in quality of almoner, until the majority of his son, to whom the Emperor wished that he might then be attached.

"We think we are fulfilling a last duty which we owe to the Emperor, in communicating to your Majesty his wishes in this respect, which he repeated to us on several occasions.

"We have the honour to be,

"MADAM,

"Your Majesty's most humble

"And most obedient servants,

"COUNT BERTRAND,

"COUNT MONTHOLON."

Count Neipperg afterwards repeatedly assured me of the satisfaction and benevolence of the Empress, in whose name he offered me a ring, which I carefully preserve.

Every person attached to the palace was in deep mourning; at which I could not help ex-

pressing my surprise. "What!" said his Excellency, "do you not know that it is by the express order of the Archduchess? The fatal intelligence was communicated to her by Prince Metternich, and completely overwhelmed her. She immediately determined that all her Court should share in her grief, and mingle the expression of their regret with her own; that they should go into mourning for three months; that a solemn funeral service should take place; in a word, that none of those ceremonies should be forgotten which the piety of the living consecrates to those who are no more. She herself was present at them all, and took pleasure in shewing to Napoleon, after his death, those sentiments of attachment and devotedness which she entertained for him during his life."—"And the young prince, how is he?"—"Perfectly well."—"Is he strong?"—"He enjoys most robust health."—"What hopes does he give?"—"He sparkles with genius; no child ever promised so much."—"Is he placed in good hands?"—"His instruction is confided to two men of the greatest capacity, to two Italians, who give him an education both brilliant and solid. Beloved by all the Imperial family, he is

particularly a favourite with the Emperor, and Prince Charles, who watches over him with unequalled anxiety." We were standing up; his Excellency had treated me with the utmost kindness, I dared not venture to push my questions any further; but he relieved me from my embarrassment by prolonging the conversation himself. "Do you know," said he, "who painted those pictures, which seem to attract your attention?" "I do not, but their exquisite style and execution——" "Are peculiarly those of the Empress; those graceful landscapes are her work." I recollected, in fact, that Napoleon had often spoken to me of the perfection of her landscape-painting.

I now took leave of his Excellency, and rejoined the Chevalier Rossi, with whom I went in the evening to the play. His box was facing that of Maria Louisa. The *Cenerentola* was performed, and I was listening with ecstasy to that delightful music, performed by the first orchestra of Italy, when the Empress entered her box. Her appearance no longer presented that bloom of health and brilliant freshness of which the Emperor had so often spoken to me; pale, emaciated, and dejected, she bore evident

marks of the trials she had undergone. She remained but a very short time; in fact, scarcely did more than appear: but I had seen her, and was satisfied.

I pursued my journey; arrived first at Florence, where I was presented to the Grand Duke, who asked me several questions respecting St. Helena; then at Rome, where I was admitted to an audience of Cardinal Fesch, who did not ask me a single one.

I wrote to the Count de Saint Leu, but he was too much grieved to be able to see me, and I thought no more about it; to Princess Pauline, who, though suffering, would however see me, know every thing, hear every thing, and who exhibited marks of the most lively sympathy at the recital of the outrages and torments endured by Napoleon. The emotion betrayed by Madame Mère was greater still; I was obliged to use the greatest caution, and only to relate to her part of what I had witnessed. At a second visit she was more calm and resigned. I entered into several details, which were frequently interrupted by the paroxysms of her grief. But if I suspended my recital, that

afflicted mother dried up her tears, and recommenced her questions. It was a struggle between courage and affliction, which presented a most heart-rending spectacle. I saw her a third time, when she expressed herself in terms of the utmost kindness towards me, and as a proof of her satisfaction offered me a diamond, which, coming as it does from the mother of the Emperor, shall never leave me.

On my way back to Florence I stopped at Prince Canino's, which was a short distance from that city. I was perfectly well received by all there, and numerous questions were asked of me concerning Napoleon, whose death was severely felt by the Prince and his family. I pursued my journey, and arrived at Florence, where I was detained for a few days by a conflict of pretensions and discussions of a singular nature, relating to the anatomical works of Mascagni*.

The offers I made having been rejected, nothing remained for me to do but to set off

* We omit the detail of these discussions.—*English Editor.*

again. This I did, and having reached Parma, I was once more presented to Count Neipperg. His Excellency renewed the assurance of the Empress's satisfaction, and delivered to me, for the Austrian Embassy in France, a letter in which that princess expressed, in the kindest terms, her benevolent intentions in favour of the physician of her husband, whose last will she wished to obey. I personally delivered that despatch to Baron Vincent, who had the goodness to communicate its contents to me.

I had had a kind of lawsuit at Florence, and found nothing but discussions on my arrival at Paris. The banker had pleaded the incapacity of Napoleon; his scruples had been listened to, and the funds had been retained in his chest. It had been consequently found necessary to reduce the legacies, and name arbitrators to moderate the pretensions of one, uphold the rights of another,—in a word, to conciliate all interests. The choice had fallen upon the Duke of Bassano, the Duke of Vicenza, and Count Daru. They were friends and ministers of Napoleon; the claims of every one were addressed to them; I also forwarded mine.

I thought that, scrupulous interpreters of the intentions of a man whom they had long served, they would respect his acts, even those concerning me; for, after all, though an isolated being, I had nevertheless had the melancholy honour of closing the eyes of our common benefactor. They were in possession of the following codicil:—

"This day, 27th April, 1821.

"Diseased in body, but sound in mind, I have written with my own hand this eighth codicil to my will.

"1st. I appoint Montholon, Bertrand, and Marchand, to be my testamentary executors, and Las Cases, or his son, to be treasurer.

"2nd. I request my beloved Maria Louisa to take into her service my surgeon, Antommarchi, to whom I bequeath a pension for life of six thousand francs, which she will pay to him.

"MONTHOLON, BERTRAND,
(*A true copy.*) and MARCHAND.

"Paris, 12th of June, 1823."

The executors had delivered to me the following declaration :—

" We, the undersigned, declare and attest, that the late Emperor Napoleon told us, a few days before his death, that he had promised his physician, Doctor Antommarchi, to leave him one hundred thousand francs.

" MONTHOLON, BERTRAND, and MARCHAND.

" Paris, 14th February, 1823."

I sent this document to the arbitrators, with a letter of the following tenor :—

GENTLEMEN,

" I have the honour to lay before you a copy of a document in which Messrs. Bertrand, Montholon, and Marchand declare, that a few days before his death the Emperor Napoleon had promised to leave me one hundred thousand francs.

" I request, gentlemen and arbitrators, that you will take into consideration this act of justice and benevolence of the late Emperor, in

favour of the physician who has had the honour of attending him to his last hour.

"I have the honour to inform you, that, at St. Helena, the executors have already carried into effect a similar order, given verbally by the Emperor in favour of the English physician who was consulted.

"I expect this act of justice and kindness from the gentlemen appointed arbitrators to the inheritance of the late Emperor Napoleon.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"F. ANTOMMARCHI."

These gentlemen pronounced the following judgment:—

"We, the undersigned, Hugh Bernard Maret, Duke of Bassano, residing at Paris, Rue St. Lazarre, No. 56; Armand Augustin Lewis De Caulincourt, Duke of Vicenza, residing at Paris, Rue St. Lazarre, No. 5; and Peter Anthony Noel Bruno, Count Daru, Peer of France, residing at Paris, Rue de Grenelle, Faubourg St.

Germain, No. 81; arbitrators and referees named in the compromise, passed between the legatees of Napoleon Bonaparte, the 26th April 1822, and enregistered at Paris by Courapied, the 22d April 1823, to judge finally, and without appeal as arbitrators, agreeably to articles 1009 and 1019 of the Civil Code, all controversies that might arise relative to the interpretation of any of the dispositions contained in the will and codicils of Napoleon Bonaparte, to the formation of the statements of repartition of each class, to the right of any person to belong to any class on account of certain sums bequeathed by the testator, and particularly to the pretensions of the legatees expressed in the various codicils; also to take from such or such funds pointed out in the various parts of the will, all claims that might be made by any creditor or pensioner, or other claimants; and in general to decide every species of difficulty arising from the liquidation of the inheritance, the execution of the will and codicils, and the final settlement of the accounts that will ultimately be presented by the executors, &c.

" *Fourth Question.*—Have those of the legatees of St. Helena, who claim the entire payment of their legacies, a right to such a privilege?

" With respect to that Fourth Question,

" Considering, that although the memorial, claiming as a privilege the payment of the legacies bequeathed by privilege to the legatees of St. Helena, seemed to concern all the said legatees, it appears from explanations afforded by Counts Bertrand and Las Cases, that they do not intend to share in that demand; and by Messrs. De Montholon and Marchand, that the said privilege is only claimed by them in case the hereditary portion of the estate should become available:

" Considering, that although the arbitrators have not received any powers from the heir, it may, nevertheless, be allowed to them to foresee the case in which the munificence of the said heir would induce him to abandon his hereditary portion, to contribute, as far as it is in his power, to the fulfilment of the intentions

manifested by the testator, and to the discharge of his obligations:

"Considering, that the legatees who followed the testator in his exile, who abandoned their families, their professions, and their country, to share his captivity, and who had not fixed any limit whatever to the duration and extent of their sacrifice, find themselves peculiarly situated, and are entitled to special favour:

"That, having been the first named in the dispositions of the testator, it is permitted to suppose, that if he had believed that he only had at his disposal the sum which he destined to the legatees of St. Helena, he would have limited his liberality:

"That it results, moreover, from the terms used by the testator in expressing his last will, that the legacies bequeathed by him to Count Montholon were not left merely as donations, but also as indemnities for the losses occasioned to him (Count Montholon) by his residence at St. Helena, &c."

The article *Questions* to the legatees of the testament of 15th April, 1821, and of the fourth codicil, dated the 24th, contains the following provision in my favour, in consequence of my claim for one hundred thousand francs as above stated :—

"The estate will be charged with the payment of some pensions. Four of these are paid by the relations of the testator; only three will, therefore, remain chargeable on the estate. Of these three pensions, one, which is of a thousand francs, is due in consequence of a certificate to that effect delivered by the testator's orders; the second, which is of twelve hundred francs, is an annual and temporary provision bequeathed by the testator, payable by his relations and friends; the third, which it is proposed to make eighteen hundred francs, is also a temporary provision in favour of Dr. Antommarchi, who attended the testator to his last moments; which provision will, by its nature, cease as soon as her Majesty, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, shall, agreeably to the wish expressed by the testator, take upon herself the payment of Mr. Antommarchi's pension."

This decision appeared outrageous to the legatees: several, and particularly General Drouot, appealed against it.—"The bequest of Napoleon," they said, "in favour of the physician who had closed his eyes, was not a mere legacy; it was an order, a debt which the estate could not evade. If it was not thought proper to pay it in full, some respect was at least due to decorum and to the last wishes of the Emperor; and the pension ought to be doubled, and made three thousand six hundred francs." The majority of the legatees were of the General's opinion; Baron L*** was almost the only one who objected to it.

The arbitrators had considered the codicil concerning me as null and void, and had disregarded the intentions of Napoleon; but I cared little about it: his son was full of life, the Empress had renewed the assurance of her favourable dispositions towards me, and I therefore felt secure. I nevertheless thought it right to yield to the advice of the testamentary executors, who recommended to me to submit the decision of the arbitrators to the equity of the legatees. Part of these, at whose head was

General Montholon, granted three thousand francs, the others persisted in stipulating three thousand six hundred francs, as General Drouot had proposed. Baron L*** alone, as usual, thought that was too much for me, and not enough for himself. However, ashamed at last of being alone against all, he yielded, and the question was submitted to the arbitrators.

But these gentlemen were assailed with doubts and scruples; they were not convinced that the documents laid before them expressed the intention of those who had written them; it was necessary to wait until every one came to attest his signature, and until a meeting took place. That meeting was assembled, nobody protested against his previous intentions, and the benevolent feelings which animated the legatees was apparent.

The moment was now come to decide, and the legatees proposed to put the question to the vote, but the arbitrators refused. They then proposed to withdraw the question, and decide it themselves; the arbitrators again refused, and, obedient to the inspiration of Baron

L* * * who continued to complain, they reserved to themselves the judgment of the affair, which they delivered in the following terms:—

"We, the above-named arbitrators and referees, by virtue of the powers above enumerated, pronounce and order:—

"1. That half the effective of the estate of Napoleon Bonaparte shall be reserved, and kept at the disposal of the son of the testator.

"2. Etc.

"3. Etc.

"4. That, as the dispositions of the testator exceed the amount of the available portion of his estate, the reduction of the legacies be made conformable to Article 926 of the Civil Code, in the proportion of the amount of their legacies, *(au marc le franc,)* amongst all the legatees, without distinction.

That nevertheless, taking into consideration the motives of the appeal made by the majority of the legatees of St. Helena, and only in case the munificence of the heir should induce him to relinquish his hereditary portion in favour of

the legatees, in order to fulfil the intentions of the testator, and discharge his obligations, the distribution be made (after a proportional reduction for the payment of the debts,) so as to complete the payment in full of the legacies of the said legatees of St. Helena, and the remainder will be divided amongst the other legatees of the testament, and of the fourth codicil, in the proportion of their respective legacies.

"5. Etc.

"6. That the pensions of Messrs. S—— and P—— and the temporary pension of Mr. Antommarchi, be payable by the legatees, viz.: to Mr. S——, at the rate of, &c.; to Mr. P——, at the rate of, &c.; and to Mr. Antommarchi, an annual sum of three thousand francs, until her Majesty, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, shall undertake to fulfil the last wishes of the testator, by granting him a pension.

"The present judgment, signed in duplicate, will be deposited amongst the records of the tribunal *de Première Instance*, sitting at Paris, in order to place the parties in a situation to be able to request its judicial confirmation; and

also with M. Bertrand, attorney to the estate, in order that the legatees may have the means of referring to it.

"Done at Paris, in the residence of the Duke of Bassano, one of the arbitrators, the 16th May, 1823.

(Signed) "COUNT DARU,

"DUKE OF BASSANO,

"CAULINCOURT, Duke of Vicenza."

This extraordinary sentence was generally disapproved of; its provisions were blamed, and motives were assigned for it; discussions and misunderstandings prevailed: all the passions were roused; when General Montholon renounced the benefit of the decision by the following letter:—

"Paris, June 12th, 1823.

"Having seen the judgment of arbitration, pronounced on the 16th of May ult. by the Duke of Bassano, the Duke of Vicenza, and Count Daru, with respect to the liquidation of the estate of the Emperor Napoleon, I declare that I persist in the opinion expressed in my

letter of 3d June, 1823, to the arbitrators, *and will not enjoy any preference of entire payment that might be onerous to my co-legatees.*

"I consequently renounce the benefit that would result to me from the execution of that Article of the said judgment, which orders that *in case the munificence of the heir should induce him to abandon his hereditary portion in favour of the legatees,* the payment of the legacies of St. Helena should be first completed upon the division of that hereditary portion.

(Signed) "DE MONTHOLON."

This act of disinterestedness was greeted and applauded, and put an end to all discussions. The legatees were restored to the sentiments which had united them, and I resumed my studies—they are preferable to arbitration and lawsuits.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

[NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—The following Documents, which we had deemed it advisable to omit as having already appeared in other publications, are, upon consideration, here subjoined for the convenience of the Reader, who may wish to refer to them.]

No. 1.

PROTEST

ADDRESSED TO SIR HUDSON LOWE.

See VOL. I. Page 59.

"GENERAL,—I have received the Treaty of the 2d of August, 1815, concluded between His Britannic Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, which was annexed to your letter of the 23d of July.

"The Emperor Napoleon protests against the purport of that Treaty; he is not the prisoner of Eng-

land. After having placed his abdication in the hands of the representatives of the nation, for the benefit of the Constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his son, he proceeded voluntarily and freely to England, for the purpose of residing there, as a private person, in retirement, under the protection of the British laws. The violation of all laws cannot constitute a right in fact. The person of the Emperor Napoleon is in the power of England; but neither, as a matter of fact nor of right, has it been, or is it at present, in the power of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, even according to the laws and customs of England, which has never included, in its exchange of prisoners, Russians, Austrians, Prussians, Spaniards, or Portuguese, although united to these powers by treaties of alliance, and making war conjointly with them. The Convention of the 2d of August, made fifteen days after the Emperor Napoleon had arrived in England, cannot, as a matter of right, have any effect; it merely presents the spectacle of the coalition of the four principal powers of Europe for the oppression of a single man; a coalition which the opinion of every people disavows, as do all the principles of sound morality. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, not possessing, either in fact or by right, any power over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, were incapable of enacting any thing with regard to him. If the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor of Austria, that prince would have remembered the relations formed by re-

ligion and nature between a father and a son—relations which are never violated with impunity. He would have remembered that four times Napoleon re-established him on his throne; at Leoben in 1797, and at Luneville in 1801, when his armies were under the walls of Vienna; at Presburg in 1806, and at Vienna in 1809, when his armies were in possession of the capital and of three-fourths of the monarchy. That prince would have remembered the protestations which he made to him at the bivouac of Moravia in 1806, and at the interview at Dresden in 1812. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor Alexander, he would have remembered the ties of friendship, contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurth, and during twelve years of daily intercourse; he would have remembered the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon the day subsequent to the battle of Austerlitz, when, having it in his power to take him prisoner with the remains of his army, he contented himself with his word, and let him effect his retreat; he would have remembered the dangers to which the Emperor Napoleon personally exposed himself to extinguish the fire of Moscow, and preserve that capital for him; unquestionably that prince would not have violated the duties of friendship and gratitude towards a friend in distress. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been even in the power of the King of Prussia, that sovereign would not have forgotten that it was optional with the Emperor, after the battle of Friedland, to place another prince on the throne of Berlin; he

would not have forgotten, in the presence of a disarmed enemy, the protestations of devotedness and the sentiments which he expressed to him, in 1812, at the interviews at Dresden. It is, accordingly, evident from the 2d and 5th Articles of the said Treaty, that, being incapable of any influence whatever over the fate and the person of the Emperor Napoleon, who is not in their power, these princes refer themselves in that respect to the future conduct of His Britannic Majesty, who undertakes to fulfil all obligations.

"These princes have reproached the Emperor Napoleon with preferring the protection of the English laws to theirs. The false ideas which the Emperor Napoleon entertained of the liberality of the English laws, and of the influence of a great, generous, and free people on its Government, decided him in preferring the protection of these laws to that of his father-in-law, or of his old friend. The Emperor Napoleon always would have been able to obtain the security of what related personally to himself, whether by placing himself again at the head of the army of the Loire, or by putting himself at the head of the army of the Gironde, commanded by General Clauzel; but looking for the future only to retirement and to the protection of the laws of a free nation, either English or American, all stipulations appeared useless to him. He thought that the English people would have been more bound by his frank conduct, which was noble and full of confidence, than it could have been by the most solemn treaties. He has been deceived, but this

delusion will for ever excite the indignation of real Britons; and with the present, as well as future generations, it will be a proof of the perfidy of the English administration. Austrian and Russian Commissioners are arrived at Saint Helena: if the object of their mission be to fulfil part of the duties which the Emperors of Austria and Russia have contracted by the Treaty of the 2d of August, and to take care that the English agents, in a small colony in the middle of the Ocean, do not fail in the attentions due to a prince, connected with them by the ties of affinity, and by so many relations, the characteristics of these two sovereigns will be recognised in that measure. But you, Sir, have asserted that these Commissioners possessed neither the right nor the power of giving any opinion on whatever may be transacted on this rock.

"The English ministry have caused the Emperor Napoleon to be transported to Saint Helena, two thousand leagues from Europe. This rock, situated under the tropic, at the distance of five hundred leagues from every kind of continent, is, in that latitude, exposed to a devouring heat; it is, during three-fourths of the year, covered with clouds and mists; it is at once the dryest and wettest country in the world: this is the most inimical climate to the Emperor's health. It is hatred which dictated the selection of this residence, as well as the instructions given by the English ministry to the officers who commanded in this country: they have been ordered to call the Emperor Napoleon, General, being desirous of compelling him to acknow-

ledge that he never reigned in France, which decided him not to take an incognito title, as he had determined, in quitting France. First magistrate for life, under the title of First Consul, he concluded the Preliminaries of London and the Treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain. He received, as ambassadors, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Merry, and Lord Whitworth, who resided in that quality at his Court. He sent to the King of England Count Otto and General Andreossi, who resided as ambassadors at the Court of Windsor. When, after the exchange of letters between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs belonging to the two monarchies, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris, provided with full powers from the King of England, he treated with the plenipotentiaries provided with full powers from the Emperor Napoleon, and resided several months at the Court of the Tuileries. When afterwards, at Chatillon, Lord Castlereagh signed the ultimatum, which the Allied Powers presented to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, he thereby recognised the fourth dynasty. That ultimatum was more advantageous than the Treaty of Paris; but France was required to renounce Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, which was contrary to the propositions of Frankfort, and to the proclamations of the Allied Powers; and was also contrary to the oath by which, at his consecration, the Emperor had sworn the integrity of the empire. The Emperor then thought these national limits were necessary to the security of France, as well as to the equilibrium of Europe; he thought that the

French nation, in the circumstances under which she found herself, ought rather to risk every chance of war than to give them up. France would have obtained that integrity, and with it preserved her honour, had not treason contributed to the success of the Allies. The Treaty of the 2d of August, and the Bill of the British Parliament, style the Emperor, Napoleon Buonaparte, and give him only the title of General. The title of *General Buonaparte* is, no doubt, eminently glorious; the Emperor bore it at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcole, at Leoben, at the Pyramids, at Aboukir; but for seventeen years he has borne that of First Consul and of Emperor: it would be an admission that he has been neither first magistrate of the Republic, nor sovereign of the fourth dynasty. Those who think that nations are flocks which, by divine right, belong to some families, are neither of the present age, nor of the spirit of the English legislature, which has several times changed the succession of its dynasties; because the great alterations occasioned by opinions, in which the reigning princes did not participate, had made them enemies to the happiness of the great majority of that nation: for kings are but hereditary magistrates who exist but for the happiness of nations, and not nations for the satisfaction of kings. It is the same spirit of hatred which directed that the Emperor Napoleon should not write, nor receive any letter, without its being opened and read by the English Ministers and

the officers of Saint Helena. He has, by that regulation, been interdicted the possibility of receiving intelligence from his mother, his wife, his son, his brothers: and when, wishing to free himself from the inconvenience of having his letters read by inferior officers, he desired to send sealed letters to the Prince Regent, he was told that open letters only could be taken charge of and conveyed; and that such were the instructions of the Ministry. That measure stands in need of no comment; it will suggest strange ideas of the spirit of the administration by which it was dictated; it would be disclaimed even at Algiers! Letters have been received for general officers in the Emperor's suite; they were opened and delivered to you; you have retained them, because they had not been transmitted through the medium of the English Ministry; it was found necessary to make them travel four thousand leagues over again; and these officers had the misfortune to know, that there existed on this rock news from their wives, their mothers and their children, and that they could not be put in possession of it in less than six months!!!—The heart revolts. Permission could not be obtained to subscribe to the Morning Chronicle, to the Morning Post, or to some French journals. Some broken numbers of the Times have been occasionally sent to Longwood. In consequence of the demand made on board of the Northumberland, some books have been sent; but all those which relate to the transactions of late years have

been carefully kept back. It was since intended to open a correspondence with a London bookseller, for the purpose of being directly supplied with books which might be wanted, and with those relative to the events of the day; that intention was frustrated. An English author having published at London an account of his travels in France, took the trouble to send it, as a present to the Emperor; but you did not think yourself authorised to deliver it to him, because it had not reached you through the channel of your Government. It is also said that other books, sent by their authors, have not been delivered, because the address of some was,—To the Emperor Napoleon; and of others,—To Napoleon the Great. The English Ministry are not authorised to order any of these vexations. The law, however unjust, considers the Emperor Napoleon as a prisoner of war; but prisoners of war have never been prohibited from subscribing to the journals, or receiving books that are printed: such a prohibition is exercised only in the dungeons of the Inquisition.

"The island of St. Helena is ten leagues in circumference; it is every where inaccessible; the coast is guarded by brigs; posts within sight of each other are placed on the shore, and all communication with the sea is rendered impracticable. There is but one small town, James Town, where the vessels anchor, and from which they sail. In order to prevent the escape of an individual, it is sufficient to guard the coast by land and sea. By interdicting the interior of the

island, one object only can be in view, that of preventing a ride of eight or ten miles, which it would be possible to take on horseback, and the privation of which, according to the consultations of medical men, is abridging the Emperor's days.

"The Emperor has been placed at Longwood, which is exposed to every wind; a barren piece of ground, uninhabited, without water, and incapable of any kind of cultivation. The space contains about 1200 uncultivated fathoms. At the distance of 11 or 1200 fathoms, a camp was established on a small eminence; another has been since placed nearly at the same distance in an opposite direction: so that in the intense heat of the tropic, whatever way the eye is directed, nothing is seen but encampments. Admiral Malcolm, perceiving the utility of which a tent would be to the Emperor in that situation, has had one pitched by his seamen at the distance of twenty paces from the house: it is the only spot in which the shade is to be found. The Emperor, has, however, every reason to be satisfied with the spirit which animates the officers and soldiers of the gallant 53d, as he had been with the crew of the Northumberland. Longwood House was constructed to serve as a barn to the Company's farm; some apartments were afterwards made in it by the Deputy-Governor of the island: he used it for a country-house; but it was, in no respect, adapted for a residence. During the year it has been inhabited, it has been always in want of

repair, and the Emperor has been constantly exposed to the inconvenience and unwholesomeness of a house in which workmen are employed. His bedchamber is too small to contain a bedstead of ordinary size; but every kind of building at Longwood would prolong the inconvenience arising from the workmen employed. There are, however, in this wretched island, some beautiful situations, with fine trees, gardens, and tolerably good houses, among others Plantation House; but you are prevented by the positive instructions of the ministry from granting this house, which would have saved a great deal of expense, laid out in building, at Longwood, huts covered with pitched paper, which are no longer of any use. You have prohibited every kind of intercourse between us and the inhabitants of the island; you have, in fact, converted Longwood House into a secret prison; you have even thrown difficulties in the way of our communication with the officers of the garrison. The most anxious care would seem to be taken to deprive us of the few resources afforded by this miserable country, and we are no better off here than we should be on Ascension Rock. During the four months you have been at St. Helena, you have, Sir, rendered the Emperor's condition worse. It was observed to you by Count Bertrand, that you violated the law of your legislature—that you trampled upon the privileges of general officers, prisoners of war. You answered that you knew nothing but the letter of your instructions, and that

they were still worse than your conduct appeared to us.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

(Signed) COUNT DE MONTHOLON.

" P. S.—I had, Sir, signed this letter, when I received yours of the 17th, to which you annex the estimate of an annual sum of 20,000*l.* sterling, which you consider indispensable to meet the expenses of the establishment of Longwood, after having made all the reductions which you have thought possible. The consideration of this estimate can, in no respect, concern us: the Emperor's table is scarcely supplied with what is necessary; all the provisions are of a bad quality, and four times dearer than at Paris. You require a fund of 12,000*l.* sterling from the Emperor, as your Government only allows you 8,000*l.* for all these expenses. I have had the honour of telling you, that the Emperor had no funds; that no letter had been received or written for a year, and that he was altogether unacquainted with what is passing, or what may have passed, in Europe. Transplanted by violence to this rock, at the distance of two thousand leagues, without being able to receive or to write any letter, he now finds himself at the discretion of the English agents. The Emperor has uniformly desired, and still desires, to provide himself for all his expenses of every nature; and he will do so as speedily as you shall give possibility to

the means, by taking off the prohibition laid upon the merchants of the island, of carrying on his correspondence, and releasing it from all kind of inquisition on your part, or on that of any of your agents. The moment the Emperor's wants shall be known in Europe, the persons who interest themselves for him will transmit the necessary funds for his supplies.

" The letter of Lord Bathurst, which you have communicated to me, gives rise to strange ideas! Can your Ministers, then, be so ignorant as not to know that the spectacle of a great man struggling with adversity is the most sublime of spectacles? Can they be ignorant that Napoleon, at St. Helena, in the midst of persecutions of every kind, against which his serenity is his only shield, is greater, more sacred, more venerable, than on the first throne of the world, where he was so long the arbiter of Kings? Those who fail in respect to Napoleon, thus situated, merely degrade their own character, and the nation which they represent! "

No. 2.

DECLARATION OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

See Vol. I. page 95.

On the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 16th August, 1819, attempts were made for the first time to violate the pavilion inhabited by the Emperor Napoleon, which to this epoch had been constantly respected. He resisted against this violence by shutting and locking the doors. *In this situation, he reiterates the protestation which he has made, and caused to be made several times, that the right of his door shall not be violated unless by walking over his corpse.* He has given up every thing, and for three years has lived concentrated in the interior of six small rooms, in order to escape from insults and outrages. If baseness is carried to the degree of envying him this refuge, it has been determined to leave him no other than the tomb. Labouring for two years under a chronic hepatitis, a disease endemic in this place, and *for a year deprived of the assistance of his physicians by the forcible removal of Doctor O'Meara in July,* 1818, *and of Doctor Stokoe in January,* 1819, he has experienced several crises, during which he has been obliged to keep his bed, sometimes for fifteen or twenty successive days. At the present moment, in the midst of one of the most violent of the crises that he has yet experienced,

confined to his bed for nine days, having only patience, diet, and the bath, to oppose to the disease; for *six days his tranquillity has been disturbed by threats of an attack, and of outrages which the Prince Regent, Lord Liverpool, and all Europe, well know he will never submit to.* As the wish *to debase and to insult him is daily manifested,* he reiterates the declaration he has already made,—That he has not taken, nor will he take, any notice, nor has he ordered, nor will he order, any answer to be given to any despatches or packets, the wording of which shall be done in a manner injurious to him, and contrary to the forms which have been established for four years, to correspond with him through the intermediation of his officers; that he has thrown, and will throw, into the fire, or out of the windows, those insulting packets, not wishing to innovate any thing upon the state of affairs that has existed for some years.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Longwood, 16th August, 1819.

No. 3.

ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF CARINTHIA.

See Vol. I. Page 133.

"The French army does not come into your country to conquer it, or to enforce any alteration in your religion, manners, or customs. It is the friend of all nations, and particularly of the brave people of Germany.

"The Executive Directory of the French Republic has spared no endeavour to put an end to the calamities which afflict the Continent: it had determined to make the first advance, and to send General Clarke to Vienna, as a Plenipotentiary, to commence negotiations for peace. But the Court of Vienna refused to listen to it; and even declared, at Vicenza, through the medium of M. de St. Vincent, that it did not acknowledge the French Republic. General Clarke demanded a passport, in order to address himself to the Emperor in person; but the Ministers of the Court of Vienna were justly apprehensive that the moderation of the proposals he was instructed to offer might determine the Emperor to make peace. Those Ministers, corrupted by English gold, betray Germany and their prince, and have no other will than that of those treacherous islanders whom all Europe abhors.

" Inhabitants of Carinthia, I know that you detest, as much as we do, both the English, who are the only gainers by the present war, and your Ministry, which is sold to them. If we have been six years at war, it has been against the will of the brave Hungarians, of the enlightened citizens of Vienna, and of the honest unsophisticated inhabitants of Carinthia.

" Well ! in spite of England and of the Ministers of the Court of Vienna, let us be friends. The French Republic has the rights of conquest over you; let them be annulled by a contract of mutual obligation. You will not interfere in a war carried on contrary to your inclinations. You will furnish the provisions of which we may stand in need. On my side, I will protect your religion, manners, and property; I shall require no contribution of you; is not war in itself sufficiently horrible? Have you not suffered enough already, innocent victims of the folly of others? All the taxes you are accustomed to pay the Emperor, will serve to indemnify you for the damage inseparable from the march of an army, and to pay for the provisions you may furnish us with."

No. 4.

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO THE DUKE OF TREVISO ON THE EVACUATION OF MOSCOW.

See Vol. I. Page 274.

"To the Major-General.

"Acquaint the Duke de Treviso, that as soon as his business in Moscow is finished, that is, on the 23d at three o'clock in the morning, he is to begin to march, and that he must come on the 24th to Kubinskoe; and from that place, instead of going to Mojaisk, he is to proceed to Vereia, where he will arrive on the 25th. He will serve as an intermediate force between Mojaisk, where the Duke d'Abrantes is, and Borowsk, where the army will be. It will be right for him to send officers to Fominskoe to inform us of his march; he will take with him the Adjutant-commandant Bourmont, the Bavarians, and the Spaniards who are at the Palace of Gallitzin. All the Westphalians of the first and second posts, and all the Westphalians that he can find, he must assemble and direct towards Mojaisk: if they are not in sufficient number, he will protect their passage with the cavalry. The Duke de Treviso will inform

the Duke d'Abrantes of every thing relative to the surrender of Moscow. It is necessary that he write to us to-morrow the 22d, not by the road of Desma, but by that of Karapowo and Fominskoe. On the 23d he will send us a letter by the road of Mojaisk: his officer will leave the road at Kubinskoe to come to Fominskoe, as the head-quarters on the 23d are likely to be at Borowsk or at Fominskoe. Whether the Duke de Treviso perform his operation at three o'clock in the morning of to-morrow the 22d, or on the 23d at the same hour, as I have since ordered him, he is in either case to follow these same directions; by these means the Duke de Treviso may be considered as the rear-guard of the army. I cannot too strongly recommend to place on the waggons belonging to the young guard, or those belonging to the dismounted cavalry—in short, on all that can be found, the men who remain still in the hospitals. The Romans gave civic crowns to those who saved citizens; the Duke will deserve as many as he may save soldiers. He must mount them on his horses, and on those of all his people.

"This is what the Emperor did at the siege of Saint-Jean-d'Acre. He ought the rather to take this step, because as soon as the convoy shall have joined the army, it will have waggons and horses, which the consumption of provisions will have rendered useless. The Emperor hopes that he shall have the pleasure of thanking the Duke de Treviso for having saved five hundred men. He ought, as is but

just, to begin with the officers, then the sub-officers, and to give the French the preference. He must assemble all the generals and officers under his command, to make them sensible of the importance of this measure, and how much they will gain the Emperor's esteem, by saving for him five hundred men."

THE END.

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